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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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28 March 1984

EAST EUROPE REPORT  
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

SOCIALISM'S 'NONANTAGONISTIC CONFLICTS' DEFINED

Prague NOVA MYSL in Czech No 2, Jan 84 pp 24-34

[Article by Vladimir Ruml, corresponding member of Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, member of Institute of Marxism-Leninism, Prague: "The Dialectic of Socialism"]

[Text] Marxist-Leninist philosophy, as a science of universal laws of motion and development in nature, society and human thought, is also a universal theory and method of acquiring knowledge on the development of matter. The universal laws on the development of matter are specific primarily in the development of nature and society. The specificity of the social form of the movement of matter lies in that development in society as a natural historical process is realized by means of the dialectic of object and subject, that, therefore, the laws of the social forms of movement in matter are effected through the activity of people. The dialectics of natural and social development, including the dialectic of their mutual effect, are thus the specifics of the dialectic of the development of a unified material world.

The objective dialectic of society as a whole influences all levels of social development; simultaneously, it is different in individual social economic formations with respect to the material conditions of each social economic formation, and the specific mutual effect of the object and subject in a given social economic formation. The specification of the universal dialectic of society as a whole thus gives rise to a concrete, historically conditioned dialectic of a given social economic formation. The next step in this specification is the dialectic of the individual development phases in a social economic formation. Under the dialectic of socialism we, therefore, understand the qualitative specific expression of the universal dialectic of society in the first developmental phase of a communist social economic formation.

The examination of the dialectic of a communist social economic formation and its socialist phase requires the determination of the basic definition of a new social order. The basic definition of a communist society rests on social ownership of the means of production and a qualitatively higher degree of real socialization of labor than was the case in the past. A communist society will be one which reaches a stage of development which

will raise without precedent the productive forces of society and all sources of social affluence, which will make possible its new allocation according to need. A communist society surpasses the old division of labor, work will become a person's essential necessity and antagonism between physical and mental labor will disappear. Socialism, as a lower phase of communism, denotes a society which still retains some features of the old society, consequently one which in the course of its development formulates and develops its own foundations.

The specific substance of socialism is the characteristic of the essence of the communist social economic formation as a whole. In the definition of the specific substance of socialism we cannot one-sidedly emphasize only the historically necessary limitations in relation to communism; we must fully respect the fact that the socialist revolution is the beginning of changes in all aspects of the life of society, that the specific essence of socialism must clearly manifest itself in its advantages, that the laws of development of a socialist society are simultaneously the laws of gradual transformation from a socialist to a communist society.

The specific substance of socialism was scientifically set forth by Karl Marx. In his "Critique of the Gotha Program," he demonstrated that a socialist society rests on public ownership of the means of production, individual labor under socialism becomes an integral part of the labor of all, and we reach collective ownership of everything society produces. From the total social product, explained K. Marx, we must first set aside funds for renewal of the means used up in the production process and for ensuring the expansion of reproduction. There must also be a reserve fund for natural disasters, an insurance fund, etc. A part of the production results will also be set aside to cover the cost of management, as social funds for those unable to work, and to satisfy society's social needs (education, health care, etc.). In allotting the means among individual producers, the same principle applies as in the exchange of goods equivalents, i.e., the same amount of work in one form in exchange for the same amount of work in another. Through measuring different people with the same yardstick, we arrive at equal rights for unequal labor. This, under socialism, has a positive role because for the time being society has relatively limited production forces and sources of consumption at its disposal. As a result, we need to create a new approach to labor and public ownership through moral and material incentive. According to Marx, "in the higher phase of a communist society, when individuals are no longer slaves to the division of labor, thus eliminating the antithesis of mental and physical labor, when labor is no longer a mere means of survival but rather is the most important, vital need, when--along with general progress of individuals--there is growth in production forces and all resources of joint affluence flow in a mighty stream, only then will society be able to emboss its banner with the dictum of each according to his ability, to each according to his need."

Lenin and those who developed Marxism-Leninism further elaborated the teaching on the nature of the transition period from capitalism to socialism, on the development of socialism and the stages of its evolution. This means

especially the explanation of the character and historic place of a developed socialist society in the development of the communist social economic formation. A developed socialist society is a necessary step in the development of the communist social economic formation; it is the stage in the development of socialism in which there is completion of the restructuring of social relations under the principles of socialist collectivism, a society where the whole develops harmoniously in unity with a corresponding proportional development of its individual components.

The Marxist-Leninist concept of socialism as a relatively self-sustaining degree in the development of the communist social economic formation was and is rejected by bourgeois ideologues and revisionists. In some bourgeois concepts, socialism is characterized as a variant of state capitalism reaching into all strata of society. According to the proponents of such concepts, there is a great expansion of alienation under socialism, making it a society which must be done away with. Another type of mystification of real social relations under socialism and false interpretation of the Marxist-Leninist concept of socialism "explains" socialism as the eclectic external coexistence of capitalist and communist elements in a heterogeneous society. This concept may be in external ideological expression the starting point for quite different social and political demands, ranging from the restoration of capitalism to the immediate "establishment" of communism. However, this concept always serves as ideological justification for the destruction of socialism. Opinions have even been voiced that socialism is an independent social economic formation which is qualitatively different from the communist social economic formation. Authors of these views do not take into consideration the fact that the development of socialism has had from the very outset a communist orientation. The social and political consequence of these concepts is the postponement of the realization of a communist society to an indefinite period, and turning the communist aims of a revolutionary workers movement into mere visionary utopia.

A necessary theoretical and methodological prerequisite for the study of the dialectic of socialism is the fact that social relations in a class antagonistic and exploiting society and in a communist society are significantly different. Relations in the first are those between the exploiters and the exploited, between owners of the means of production and those who are excluded from such ownership, between those who direct the social aspects of the production process and those who are subordinated to it in a despotic manner, i.e., relations between those who rule and the oppressed. In contrast, socialist production relations are founded on socialist labor cooperation, in unity of the producers, in public ownership of the means of production. Under socialist conditions, social homogeneity grows, the nonantagonistic classes and groups grow closer together. The instrument of the whole process of closer relations is the workers class.

An important characteristic of the dialectic of capitalism are the antagonistic conflicts, while in socialism it is the nonantagonistic conflicts which are characteristic. Lenin emphasized the universality of conflicts, discovered the basic types of social conflict characterized antagonism as

a historically transient form of conflict, and showed that antagonism and conflict cannot be considered the same thing, since antagonism under socialism vanishes, while conflict remains. Since antagonistic conflict is an important characteristic of the dialectic of capitalism, there are various degrees of change in the character of the individual nonantagonistic conflicts (e.g., the relationship between physical and mental labor, in itself nonantagonistic, becomes antagonistic to the degree that the product of mental labor becomes an instrument of the capitalist management of production). The main characteristic of the dialectic of socialism are nonantagonistic conflicts which in varying degrees affect individual antagonistic conflicts (e.g., the antagonistic conflict between bourgeois and proletarian ideologies under socialism is resolved by the ideological struggle via the method of persuasion).

In examining the conflicts in a socialist society, we must not abstract it inappropriately from the conflict between nature and society. The scientific and technological revolution, along with the growing exploitation of nature by society, in capitalism leads to a further sharpening of this antagonistic relationship. Socialism, based on public ownership of the means of production, has all the objective possibilities of rationalized utilization of natural forces and planned renewal of the environment; it is objectively capable of maintaining harmony between the needs of production and protection of the environment. This does not mean that this nonantagonistic conflict cannot get temporarily worse even under socialism.

Public ownership of the means of production under socialism forms the base for the emergence of a unified cooperation of producers whose work changes into literally public endeavor. The change in the character of labor, however, is not a one-time act but rather a historical process. The process of the socialization of labor results in the need for maintaining material and financial relationships under socialism. These assume a new socially economic content and have basically a planned and targeted character. The emergence of public ownership of the means of production and the gradual strengthening of unified cooperation among producers leads to the elimination of fetishism in goods and to consideration of the needs of society as a whole. Wherever traces of fetishism still appear in varying degrees (and their total disappearance is connected with the disappearance of material and financial relations), they result in emphasis on the interests of individual groups of producers against the interests of society as a collective.

A socialist society must constantly resolve conflicts in the sphere of political organization. The political system of the socialist society makes it possible to harmonize individual interests and those of society as a whole because its organizational principle is democratic centralism. In the sphere of politics, the most significant conflict is that between centralized management and the democratic activity of the masses. Centralized management from the top must create necessary conditions for social and political activity of the working people, for their effective impact on the formation, implementation and control of the political process.

Marx, Engels and Lenin characterized the dictatorship of the proletariat as a "semi-state," a state whose relatively long-term perspective is its transformation into communist self-government. The socialist state is the unified power of the people; therefore, in its structure it realizes in a specific way the principle of democratic centralism. The socialist state is the first state in history which relies on the initiative of people. The activity of a socialist state includes the use of force against disrupters of socialist legality; however, even this activity is performed in the interest of the working people.

A socialist state includes an executive apparatus which has an internal hierarchical structure. As a consequence of this structure, they may appear within this apparatus relations in which political activity is separated from the real content and becomes a formalist administrative structure in which the individual components of this apparatus deviate from the influence and control of the working people. Thus, the socialist state is not devoid of bureaucratic flaws and shortcomings. Bureaucratism is in contradiction with the essence of socialist statehood. Consequently, it is necessary to struggle against it with consistency and determination. The deepening of socialist democratism is necessary to ensure the increasing participation of the working people and their collectives in the formulation, realization and control of politics, and also because the development of political activity by the masses is the best way of combating individual manifestations of bureaucratism.

The fact that a socialist state is not free of bureaucratic shortcomings does not mean that its apparatus embodies conservative tendencies, that the internal trend should be preserved in a certain fixed form and that certain aspects of social relations should be cast in concrete. Indeed, a socialist state (thus also its apparatus) is, among others, an instrument of the building of society and a means of achieving change in social relations. It makes no sense to pit the state (which is then treated as an exclusively conservative element in the development of socialism) and the self-administration of the unified producers against each other. One-sided anarchosyndicalist antistatism and over-estimation of the importance (but also realistic possibilities) of the self-administration of individual producer collectives leads to undesirable spontaneity based on competitive relations among individual producer collectives. It leads to the disintegration of the workers class as a sociopolitical force and a diminution of the role and activity of the socialist state.

In a socialist society there is a real socialization of Marxist-Leninist ideas which gradually become part of the consciousness of the working people, who are then able correctly to understand the sociopolitical relationships of their own activity. In this respect, even the mutual relationship between the empirical everyday consciousness and theoretical knowledge undergoes a change. Whereas under capitalism, illusory elements of empirical consciousness are historically necessary--as seen primarily in the fetishism of capitalist goods production--socialist goods production, even though in the first phase of the communist social economic formation there is not a fully adequate manifestation and substance, does not create

objective conditions for illusions about social processes. The character of socialist societal relations and the way of their development are the objective basis of rapprochement of everyday empirical consciousness, the starting point of a new quality and relationship which lead to a gradual accelerated overcoming of the separation of social carriers of either everyday or theoretical consciousness. One of the prerequisites for further rapprochement of the everyday empirical and theoretical consciousness is a consistent and ceaseless struggle against bourgeois ideology and remnants of petit-bourgeois mentality in the mind of the working people.

In examining the conflicts in a socialist society, it is inadmissible to abstract them from the transition from capitalism to socialism on a global scale. The conflict between capitalism and socialism represents the content of the present era. The direction of social development is increasingly being determined by the world socialist community, by the international workers class and all revolutionary forces. Capitalism, however, still has sufficient means to slow down the world revolutionary process. The conflict between capitalism and socialism is an external conflict for socialism; however, it does not follow from this that it is not manifested to a certain degree in the development of a socialist society proper.

The above indicates that the substantive difference between the two types of social conflict must not be treated in the abstract. A socialist society which deals basically in nonantagonistic conflicts is not entirely free of the antagonistic type. Indeed, the specific substance of socialism cannot be reconciled with any absolutization of group or individual interests, antisocial activity aimed against public ownership of the means of production or against socialist statehood. Such manifestations must be fought, and we must choose appropriate economic, political and ideological measures for their elimination. If such manifestations are in conflict with socialist legality, we need to apply even force. The relationship between communist and bourgeois ideology is also of an antagonistic nature.

Antagonistic conflicts of a class exploiting society are liquidated in the transition period from capitalism to socialism. There remains, however, the possibility of their reanimation and sharpening even in social societal conditions, as seen in periodic crisis situations. We must never forget that in a socialist society there still live representatives of the former exploiter classes and a relatively large group of former members of the petit-bourgeoisie. In this respect, we do not sufficiently recognize the fact that antisocialist sentiments and positions are transmitted to a portion of the next generation (mainly through the family and various transient informal groups). We must also be aware that a reanimation of counterrevolutionary forces involves a covering up of their true class objectives. Where there have occurred under socialist conditions individual counterrevolutionary attempts, the proponents claimed that they were trying to reform and improve socialism. The spreading of such ideas was an instrument of disorientation which even affected a portion of the workers class. Finally, as shown by experience, there has always been a deviation by the leadership from Marxist-Leninist principles in the policies of the

communist party, and a separation of the working people from the party. In all this we must not forget for even a moment that there is an external antithesis of capitalism and socialism, that the policy of exporting counter-revolution is an integral component of bourgeois policies. To underestimate this reality is highly dangerous and anyone who does so has ceased to be a consistent revolutionary.

The origin and development of the communist social economic formation is a lawful international process which is being realized under conditions of each given country or nation. From this it follows that socialism, as a lower phase of communism, is characterized by attributes expressing its substance which are different in each individual historical process and which develop in a different way. The Marxist-Leninist approach to the examination of socialist and communist changes in the life of society requires a dialectic materialist understanding of the relationship between the universal and the specific. The universal is not simply unity and agreement. The universal must be understood as unity and agreement which reflects the substance of the individual concrete historical processes. That which is different is also not merely the agglomeration of external, empirically obvious specifics of these processes; these are rather those specifics which express the qualitative differences in these processes. In this respect, the specific is always the intermediary between the universal and the unique.

The theory of Marxism-Leninism discovered the universal substance and necessary relationships in social development, thus providing an objective criterion for recognizing the universal and the specific; it made it possible to examine how the laws of social development are expressed through the developmental specifics of each given country. Specific conditions for the effect of universal laws of socialist change in the life of a society are given by the traditions of historical development and are present in all spheres of social life. The universal laws determine the substance of each concrete road to socialism. National peculiarities influence the effect of these laws. The policy of a communist party must realize the substantive mission of the revolutionary process, while at the same time it must respect that which is different for a given workers movement in a given stage and concrete historical situation.

Marxist-Leninist theory is incompatible with the absolutization of the universal; society then represents a collection of automatically effective laws, which leads to the claim that social movement occurs apart from people's behavior. The absolutization of the universal evokes apologetics of spontaneity (which does not directly correspond to the effect of social laws, and includes various developmental detours) and opportunism, as a passive adaptation to any given circumstances.

One of the principal characteristics of Marx's theoretical work is the examination of real historical processes in the union of their universal and specific aspects, and the generalization on this basis of the experiences of the course of class struggles. Marx was always aware that we

cannot predetermine the course of history in a doctrinaire manner, that the prerequisite for anticipating future social development and prognoses of individual revolutionary processes is knowledge of the principal inevitable universal relationships of social development. We must examine the revolutionary processes in the union of universal and specific determinations and develop the theory wherever possible on the basis of overall and complete knowledge of society, including knowledge of the substance of social processes, as well as their concrete historical development.

The creative application of the ideas on scientific communism in the work of V.I. Lenin also encompassed theoretical understanding and practical realization of the dialectic of the universal and specific. Lenin proceeded from the universal legitimacy of capitalist development as a global social system, and on this basis set forth the real specificity of a concrete historical situation and the tasks of the Russian proletariat in the new historical period. It was precisely this approach which enabled Lenin to explain truthfully that the socialist revolution in Russia had its specificity, while at the same time it reflected that which is universally valid and binding for the transition from capitalism to socialism.

The rejection of the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism and a nihilist approach to the Soviet experience is characteristic of opportunism and revisionism of all types. This applies even to "our" rightists. Revisionist understanding of socialism's developmental specificity in these concepts was in 1968 expressed by the denial of the universal essence of the socialist revolution and socialism itself. The emphasis on specificity did not prevent "our" right-wingers from claiming that their approach should serve as an example and be followed by others. They presented the events of 1968 as the beginning of a new stage in the development of the movement. And it is not at all by chance that this activity was positively evaluated by the Eurocommunists.

The revisionists have covered reams of paper with their thoughts on a specific road to socialism. In this, they have totally misinterpreted the Marxist-Leninist concept of this question. Every road to socialism is specific, since it is realized in a given concrete situation, in a given country, with a given balance of class forces. The specificity of the road to socialism, however, is correctly understood only as long as we maintain the revolutionary thesis of the transition from capitalism to socialism. Concepts which overestimate national differences and negate the revolutionary essence of socialist change in the life of society become an apology for a policy which, in fact, gives up the class struggle and the struggle for power. The ideas of socialism then become a mere external cover for a policy of opportunism. We should not, therefore, be surprised that the revisionists have practiced the thesis of many variants of Marxism-Leninism and various models of socialism. All these concepts deny that Marxism-Leninism is the uniform international scientific revolutionary teaching, and all the so-called models of socialism have in common the denial of the experiences of the countries of real socialism, as well as anti-Sovietism.

In building an advanced socialist society in our homeland, the CPCZ proceeds from the theory of Marxism-Leninism and fully applies the experiences of Soviet communists. The mastering of the substance of Soviet experiences is an essential prerequisite for their creative application in our specific conditions. Therefore, respecting Soviet experiences is not an external imitation of the institutional system in the USSR. Such an "approach" could lead to a negation of the substance of these experiences and discredit a matter of vital importance for progress in our movement and for future progress in building an advanced socialist society in our country.

The dialectic of the universal and specific is also a necessary theoretical and methodological starting point in the examination of the internal self-development of the individual socialist countries. The laws expressing the substance of socialism act in union with the laws of development in the individual spheres of social life. Correct understanding of the dialectic of universal and specific laws is the starting point for the scientific management of social processes. Management of a given sphere must respect the fact that this process is being realized along with the existence of other social conditions and factors which are not a component of the managed sphere, that a specific area of social life develops as a component of society as a whole, based on universal laws of social development. Also, we must bear in mind that management is not reduced merely to influencing the subjective factors in social processes, that in our social conditions management leads the working people to participate in it, a process which becomes a matter of policy.

The dialectic of the universal and the specific is also the dialectic of historical development and in this sense has a processing character. From this it follows that the laws of a social economic formation are the starting point for the determination of individual phases and stages of its development. The policy of the communist party requires a concrete historical approach and exact knowledge of a given concrete historical situation. At the same time, we must recognize the genesis of a given concrete historical situation, its structure and developmental trend. Policy cannot be reduced merely to reacting to a given concrete historical situation--it must necessarily include the perspective of social development.

The specificity of the dialectic of object and subject in socialist societal conditions lies in the fact that the working people act under the leadership of the communist party consciously, on the basis of knowledge of the objective laws of social development. There is substantive unity between the objective effect of laws of society and practical social activity of people, there is unity between the objective mechanism of the effect of laws in society and the subjective mechanism of their application by real units of a socialist society. From this it follows that the importance of the role of a subject is growing in the historical process.

In the process of building an advanced socialist society, the demands on knowing this society are growing, since awareness of the laws of society is an essential prerequisite for dedicated social activity. The use of

the knowledge of the objective lawful relationships of social development makes it possible to avoid subjectivist decisions and ensuing errors in practice. A theory which programatically abdicates the task of knowing the laws of society and resigns its function to anticipate the future cannot serve as a starting point for practical application.

Theory is a decisive element in the study and knowledge of society, but not the only one. We cannot overlook knowledge acquired in the management of social processes, in the practical experience of building a socialist society, in the discovery of additional social relationships and concrete historical conditions. Such learning and knowledge is an essential prerequisite for the correctness of any given measure adopted. Universal application of knowledge gained in the course of managing social processes is one of the sources of the development of theoretical knowledge.

In socialist societal conditions there occurs a mass universal application of Marxist-Leninist ideas. It is primarily on this basis that we develop the socialist consciousness of the working people, the capability of their independent orientation in all important problems of social development, and communist dedication to their activity. Experience acquired by the working people is very important for the work of the individual elements of the political system in socialist societies.

The leading role of the communist party is a law in the development of a socialist society. The practical organizational and theoretical activity of the communist party, as the vanguard of the workers class and other working people as the unifier of theory and practice in the revolutionary movement, is the starting point for the activity of the working people who gradually become a dedicated history-making factor in all spheres of the life of society. Only in this manner can we realize the transition from the realm of necessity into the realm of liberty, as anticipated by the founders of our teaching.

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CSO: 2400/259

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

NOTED AUTHOR INTERVIEWED ON INTERNAL POLITICS, PROSPECTS

Oslo NY TID in Norwegian 18 Jan 84 pp 18-19

[Interview with Stefan Heym, leading GDR author, by Sverre Strandhagen in East Berlin, date not given: "Stalinism is Alive in the CDR"]

[Text] Stefan Hym was born in Chemnitz in 1913. Heym emigrated to Czechoslovakia in 1933; he later studied in Chicago. From 1942 he served in the military in the American army and continued doing that several years after the war ended. In the early fifties he settled in East Berlin and established himself as a successful GDR author. He received among other things GDR's national prize. Heym became gradually less and less popular among governmental powers because he published critical books in the West which he didn't get published in GDR, and at the same time he went out and supported Wolf Biermann and other critics of the regime. Heym has lately been strongly involved in the fight for disarmament in the East and West.

Stalinism is continually, in its special East German variant, a fundamental pattern in GDR.

"Solidarity" was too radical. If one gives a horse too loose a rein, it will run away.

The church in GDR is the only place where there is room to express non-official opinions. The peace movement in GDR has no other alternatives than the East German Church.

Stefan Heym, the author and regime critic, says this to NY TID. We met the 70 year old "nonconforming" writer in his home in Grunau, East Berlin.

Heym would rather not be labelled "reform communist" or something like that. Nor does he want to be looked upon as a guru.

"I'm in short a writer, a 'story teller,' without any political program," the nonconformist who prefers to be an East German citizen explains.

Reform possible?

[Question] But do you think it is possible to reform and change the East German system from within?

[Answer] The "system" as you call it, has changed so much and is changing all the time. Everything is changing. Another question is, of course, which direction the development takes, something which I think it is difficult to have any concrete opinion about.

The situation in GDR today is clearly different from the conditions under Ulbrecht. Many of my old books are now published in GDR, but my latest and newest books, Collin and Ahasverus, have been forbidden.

[Question] Why?

[Answer] I have probably also changed. At a certain time it felt right to keep things to oneself. I felt after a while a need to tell about my experiences, yes to talk things out.

In the new books, for example, in Collin there are things which the regime finds unpleasant. The leadership feels struck by remarks concerning certain character descriptions in the book.

[Question] But is Collin an antisocialistic novel?

[Answer] "No," Heym exclaims. Collin is a novel for the socialism. That doesn't mean it is a defense for the socialism we have today in GDR.

Grown Rooted

[Question] The book is probably also a settlement with Stalinism. Is GDR a Stalinistic state?

[Answer] Stalinistic working methods and patterns have become rooted into the system. They seem difficult to get rid of.

When GDR was founded, the Soviet system was the only model it was possible to build the new state after. Stalinism is still, even in its special GDR variant, a fundamental model in the republic, Heym says.

Another question is what Stalinism really is. In my opinion Russian/Czarist elements exist in what traditionally is called Stalinism.

[Question] Are you considering the possibilities of budging with the Stalinistic pattern?

[Answer] As said before, everything changes, and much has changed. I am neither a politician nor a guru.

## Defense Position

[Question] What influence has Solidarity and the incidents in Poland had for GDR?

[Answer] The incidents in Poland have put the authorities in defense position. This defensive attitude has taken concrete expressions. One example is that the borders have been closed to free traffic. But scepticism towards Poland prevails both on the top and bottom level. It is a widespread opinion among the population in GDR that if the Poles had worked more, they would have had a better standard of living and less reason for dissatisfaction. I am not saying that I share this opinion, but it is fairly common.

[Question] What do you think about Solidarity?

[Answer] Solidarity was too radical. If one gives a horse too loose a rein, it will run wild.

It is also important to put forward that it was /not/ a miracle what happened in Poland, as some describe it.

[Question] Hungary has its economic reforms, Czechoslovakia has Charter and Poland its Solidarity, what does GDR have?

## Menu

[Answer] "West German television", Heym answers directly. "One should not underestimate the importance of the television transmission from the West. Even if it would be going too far to say that they provide fertile soil for GDR Solidarity or anything equivalent to it. But the people in GDR get served another intellectual menu than the people in other East bloc countries, or even what exists in those countries."

[Question] The Church plays a central role in GDR when it comes to peace work, as compared to other countries in the East. Would you characterize this as a strength or weakness?

[Answer] Neither. The only possibility of carrying on an unofficial activity is within the Church. The Church is the only place where there is any space to express one's opinion. There exists no other alternatives.

Not SS-20

[Question] What importance do you think the placement of new missiles in the West and East will receive?

[Answer] I don't think there exists or will exist any SS-20 missiles in GDR. SS-20 is a middle distance weapon. It is more than sufficient to station tactical nuclear weapons in GDR. They reach far enough.

[Question] Why does the GDR bureaucracy have such an allergic reaction to the independent peace movement?

[Answer] Because the peace movement represents something the authorities feel they can't control. Besides the regime itself says that they are for peace and peaceful coexistence, and they have established their own organs to work with these questions. Any independent peace movement is therefore not necessary, the GDR leadership maintains.

#### Little to Do

[Question] Which strategy ought the East German peace groups follow in the future?

[Answer] "I don't know so much about it, but I don't think that the Church peace groups really have any strategy. One has to realize that the peace groups in GDR are very closely put together.

"The Eastern peace work is, of course, influenced by what is happening in the West. But I don't think the Western peace movement can do so much for its friends in the East," a somewhat pessimistic Stefan Heym concludes.

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CSO: 3639/70

POLAND

SKIERNIEWICE GOVERNOR, WARSAW MAYOR DISCUSS PROBLEMS

Problems of Skierniewice Province

Lodz GLOS ROBOTNICZY in Polish 29 Dec 83 p 4

[Interview of Kazimierz Borczyk, governor of Skierniewice, by A. Smyczek: "Broadening the Social Base of Government"]

[Text] [Question] Mr Governor, you assumed the post of administrative chief of the province in December 1980 during what must be admitted to be a difficult period. That was the time when people began unceremoniously to point out mistakes of authorities, check on their honesty, settle with them, and press them to the wall. What kind of conclusions might one draw from the past to act effectively, and maintain sufficient authority to function responsibly?

[Answer] Actually I took office in the province at a time when the change in executive forms and methods became the dictate of time, a necessary condition for renewal. The social atmosphere was tense. It was a time of difficult, sometimes very difficult discussions. The climate surrounding many economic and political problems was formed specifically on the basis of a situation where there was too little of everything, where the functioning of the administration up to that point was inadequate, incompetent, etc. It ended generally with complaints and enormous demands. Let us add that the demands were, in many cases, well founded and equitable, but were also formulated with expansion in mind, without taking reality into account. The intensified social criticism, however, had a good side in that it made it possible for us to see with great clarity the scale of neglect in this area, at least in such sectors as home construction, the health services, education and culture. The area of the province, comprising, during the times of the so-called districted Poland, the periphery of the two large agglomerations of Warsaw and Lodz, was underdeveloped and lacked practically everything. Its administrative advancement caused a growth in social aspirations. But the several years of the existence of the province was somewhat too short a period for it to be possible to make up for backlogs that had accumulated over decades.

The problem of building administrative authority depended, therefore, not on making unfounded promises, but on increasing the effectiveness of its activities both at the provincial level and at the basic level. We began first to put personnel matters in order. This was done by evaluating the work of persons who held managerial posts. How strict this evaluation was is borne out by the fact that during recent years, 16 directors and deputy directors in the provincial administration were replaced, as were 36 gmina and town leaders. A whole new team was formed. Indeed, the main concern was that the managerial posts in the administration be entrusted to persons who were most effective and seriously interested in social problems, who understood their role as one of service to the citizenry. Much attention was given to the creation of personnel reserves consisting of young people, many of whom are already carrying out important and visible functions.

[Question] The process of organizing personnel in divisions and institutions has not, I assume, been concluded.

[Answer] With such a major movement in personnel, it is difficult to detect mistakes. Not all prove themselves. Changes in managerial posts are made, moreover, not only as a result of negative evaluations, but also by way of normal rotation. Possibly the best selection of personnel is served by personnel reviews and evaluations that take place in a joint but systematic way. Evaluation of a worker in the state administration is formed on the basis of confirmed facts, recognition of his abilities, effectiveness of his relations to people, results of inspection. In a word, it is a most multifaceted evaluation.

[Question] The last several years might be described as a period of making basic changes in the style and method of action not only of the state administration, but of the whole, so-called authority apparatus. Forms of social consultation on the more important decisions are developing. Could you say something to us about what was done in Śląskie Province in order to increase, in a real way, the influence of citizens on the character of decisions made by the authorities of the province and the area so that the dialogue between society and the authorities would be more authentic?

[Answer] I cannot imagine, and my view is surely shared by everyone on whom the obligation of exercising authority rests, actually fulfilling one's functions without contacts with the people, without developing the dialogue that is so necessary at present. I would like most emphatically to stress that infor-

mation we receive through official service channels from stations and offices subordinate us are enriched and confirmed by direct contact with the people. We had to change our style of work in this way. I feel, and I have been an administrative worker for many years, that this style and method of work were enormously changed. We managed, under the conditions of the province, to develop something in the nature of a system of contacts with the people.

The earliest form of these contacts were the "administrative conversations." These were undertaken on the initiative of the provincial party committee. At present these administrative conversations are conducted under the auspices of the Provincial Committee for Cooperation between the Party and the Partisans, and they became an institution with ramifications.

The intention of the conversations is evident in the name itself. We want everyone who attends them, and every interested person can participate, to feel themselves to be in charge of the province, the town, or the settlement. There is a fear that meetings, especially those that take place in towns or gminas, will turn into a peculiar "concert of congratulations," that there will be no end to demands. I must state with satisfaction that nothing of this sort has occurred. Of course, there are many motions and demands, but the conversations are conducted in a very businesslike and responsible atmosphere. Dominant is a climate of concern, a will to resolve problems jointly. All matters brought up are recorded and those interested receive written responses. Sometimes some questions can be answered right there. Regularly, every Tuesday, Comrade Kubasiewicz, secretary of the provincial committee, and I visit plants. These unannounced visits are made to factories, the agricultural circles cooperative, transport bases or construction sites; direct conversations with people at their workplaces give a very good view of the particulars of operation of a given unit, and make it possible to arrive at a true evaluation of managerial personnel. During these visits, we are interested in economic and social matters, concern about esthetics inside and outside the plant, the functioning of the cafeterias and dining halls.

Although we continue to find a good number of deficiencies, there are significantly fewer with each successive visit. For example, while until recently we could complain about supplies and functioning of the plant kiosks and cafeterias, at present we note a definite improvement in this area. Materials management appears to be better than it was a year or two ago. We almost never hear complaints about lack of shoes or work clothes; the state of plant health offices (which we also visit) has been improved. I am not saying that all this is the result

of our visits, but they certainly help eliminate many deficiencies. In addition, they are a valuable probe of opinions.

Since last year we have introduced a citizens' telephone in the province. Every Friday, I myself or one of the deputy governors man this telephone to receive applications, observations or interventions of our citizens. Sometimes there are many calls, sometimes only several. But always, in addition to minor matters, there are important matters that require deliberation or a quick decision. We have recommended this form of contact with the people to mayors and town managers. Independently of this, in each town or town-gmina, one of the directors of the provincial office receives complaints and applications twice a month.

Every Friday, since last August, one of the deputy governors participates in meetings with residents at a specified gmina. I return from these meetings almost always satisfied. They give an excellent review of the problems of the area, its specifics, and are useful not just because they make it possible to become mutually acquainted and to listen to each other's views. They bear the fruit of specific decisions undertaken, or agreement on the form of realizing an investment needed in that place with the participation of its residents. It sometimes happens that after finding discrepancies between agency reports and the feelings of the gmina residents, we make a provincial area inspection there. In this way, we manage to hit the proverbial bull's eye.

Persons participating in the meetings, which always end with the acceptance of individual requests and complaints, admit that they are glad that the authorities came to them instead of their going to the authorities. Experiences of which I speak are recent. There are no models for them, they are new and are derived from a new method of administrative work. And they are already bringing the first positive results.

[Question] These newly created institutions that promote dialogue and consultation have arisen as if parallel to the representative system and the discussion that is taking place in PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth]. Perhaps their further extension will not be necessary?

[Answer] It is true, I have not spoken of the contacts with presidiums of the national councils, with whom we coordinate nominations of candidates for managers, in accordance with the new regulation on national councils and territorial self-government. I have not spoken of cooperation with PRON, meetings with trade unionists, of the consultation council in the governor's office, or of the assembly of the heads of

hamlets which has been functioning in Skiernewice for a long time. Neither did I speak of the environmental consultations, of the variants of the social-economic plan. I am treating these as a matter of course, as a settled matter.

I was determined to present the most important initiatives of the provincial office and initiatives undertaken together with the provincial committee of the party and presidiums of the parties. I do not know whether we will be able to devise something more that is new. Two days a week are dedicated to meetings and conversations with citizens. In addition to these, we receive petitioners in the office. I would like to say respectfully that we have adopted a general principle that can briefly be expressed in this way: "We will be with people, we will talk to people, we will learn what the situation is." This is what we are trying to do. The social climate for resolving many difficult matters must be evaluated as good. We are working hard to broaden the base of government and cooperation in making decisions, but at the same time there is an increased sharing of responsibility for carrying out the decisions made at the level of the province and the area.

#### Problems of Warsaw

Warsaw PRZEGLAD WOJSK LADOWYCH in Polish No 1, Jan 84 pp 9-12

[Article by Lt Gen Dr Mieczyslaw Debicki, mayor of Warsaw: "On the 38th Anniversary of the Liberation of the Capital: Warsaw Problems"]

[Text] My feelings after a two-year period as administrator of the capital province are similar to those which I have already shared with readers of PRZEGLAD WOJSK LADOWYCH, my comrades, governors in uniforms.\*

Like them, I approached new tasks "on the march," matched my 40 years experience of service in the Polish People's Army against the demands and conditions of working in state administration. In the same way, I saw the possibilities and need of practical exploitation of organizational, political and social achievements of our military strengths in administration.

Many such convergences may be indicated. Of real significance is the fact that all governors in uniform undertook service in

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\*See PRZEGLAD WOJSK LADOWYCH No 9, 1983, Statements of governors: Lt Gen Pilot Roman Paszkowski, Col Zdzislaw Mazurkiewicz, Col Dr Ryszard Urlinski, Col Eng Alojzy Wojciechowski.

organs of civilian administration under conditions of martial law at a time when there was need to defend the socialist state against intensified attacks of antisocialist forces, against anarchy and dissolution. One of our basic responsibilities was ridding administrative work of those ailments that arose in the 1970's, initiating uncompromising battle against social pathology, improving discipline, order and harmony, and undertaking energetic action to lead the country out of the crisis.

These tasks were simply beyond the power of individuals. But I found support and help of strong social forces, particularly from the Warsaw working class who defended the policy of the state and principles of socialist renewal. A decided position was taken and is maintained by the party organization in the capital, responsible for constructive dialogue, understanding and national renewal. Most helpful were soldiers acting in area and city operational groups and commissioners as well as officers in active service and in the reserves who reinforced the personnel of the Warsaw province administration.

I would like to stress a certain difference between my feelings and statements of governors that appeared in previous issues of this monthly. It is the result of the specifics of the area in which I was called to serve.

The Warsaw province (somewhat less than 3800 km<sup>2</sup>) is one of the smallest in the country, occupying scarcely 1.2 percent of its area, but at the same time is one of the most populous since it has 2,364,000 inhabitants, that is, 6.9 percent of the population of Poland. There are 917,000 persons working in the state economy, which is 7.8 percent of the working force of the whole country, and they command an even larger percentage of the national income, unfortunately not presented in the figures of the Central Office of Statistics.

Modern industry, developed and based on strong scientific-research facilities, second in the country only to Katowice province in total production, is the source of many successes, as well as the source of problems in the province. The Ursus machine plants in Warsaw are the only manufacturers of tractors in Poland. The province produces 63 percent of Polish television sets, 30 percent of the pharmaceuticals, 27 percent of automobiles, the same percentage of machine tools, 20 percent of construction machinery, 16 percent of tape recorders and dictaphones for general use, and 15 percent of minicomputer systems. Employment in industry, although it has declined during the recent period, is 6.2 percent of industrial employment of the country and averages 275,000-280,000 persons.

Agriculture in the Warsaw area has the best per-hectare production in the country, and produces 2.0 percent of Polish agricultural crops, including 7.1 percent of the fruits and vegetables. This is due to specialization and intensive farming, and, owing to this, as much as 25 percent of the vegetables supplied to the national market is produced in the Warsaw province.

Assuming the office entrusted to me in February 1982, I took these conditions into consideration. I knew Warsaw fairly well, but obviously only in the way a long-term resident connected with the place in which he lives knows it, conscious of the role of the capital in the life of the nation. This was far from adequate for carrying out the tasks that were placed before me. For this reason I recognized that, first of all, I had to "learn" Warsaw.

Today, from the perspective of experience, I can say that this was a proper approach, but I must also admit that it was not an easy lesson. I had to recognize as quickly as possible (in such a way as not to hinder on-going activity) the most important affairs of this great city. These were difficult and sometimes startling affairs for someone who had not been in contact with them "from the inside."

One cannot speak of Warsaw without mentioning her experiences, particularly those tragic experiences of World War II. As a young soldier in the ranks of the First Army of Free Poland, on 17 January 1945, I participated in liberating our capital and saw with my own eyes what was left of it then. Nothing can erase that sight from my memory.

In dry, synthetic numerical data it was as follows: of 1.3 million prewar residents, 160,000 were left, almost exclusively in Praga. Among the absent, more than 800,000 were no longer living, and approximately 350,000 were exiled from their homes, deported to concentration camps and work camps as slave labor for Hitler's Third Reich. Rubble and smoldering ruins covered the completely abandoned sections on the left bank, and, computed as a whole, the losses in the devastated part of the city were approximately 85 percent of the prewar total.

Warsaw, having behind it 7 centuries of development (also not wholly without breakdowns and dramatic moments) practically ceased to exist. It had to be built anew.

Resurrecting the capital and simultaneously catching up significantly with the developmental lag that was evident in prewar Warsaw compared to other European capitals was accomplished in a

relatively short time. Indisputably, this is one of the greatest achievements of the Polish People's Republic, and is evidence of the strength and vitality of our nation. Under the leadership of the party, through the efforts of all Poles, and with the conspicuous participation of the army, we raised a new, magnificent city on the ruins.

These are known facts. From a contemporary point of view, in light of today's reality, we must emphasize that the tragedy of the war years and then the immense exertion to make up the losses still remain as one of the sources of Warsaw's problems. Among others, to which I would like to call particular attention, the enormous needs of reconstruction and development took precedence for a long time over another area of city economics, the area of actually maintaining, using, conserving, and renovating existing buildings and community facilities. It seemed that in the "new" city this should not play a very essential role. Today the matter seems otherwise. True, we continue to feel great need for development, particularly in the area of residential construction, but we are paying dearly for undervaluing the area I mentioned, for neglecting it to the extent that it has been neglected, especially in the 1970's.

Moreover, industry, which was our pride, attained production results mainly through very extensive development or through reconstruction of plants and increasing the amount of work, and to a lesser degree, through modernization processes and increase in productivity. An additional phenomenon resulting from this was the industrial domination of the labor market; this hurt the service area, and had a detrimental effect with respect to the rapid increase in population in the capital, an increase which exceeded the possibilities of meeting the needs of new residents.

It must be said that we tried to do battle against this disproportion. This was specifically the purpose of the registration limits introduced in Warsaw as early as 1954, but these were directed against the manifestation, and not the cause of the phenomenon. More real effects were expected after the unsuccessful action of the so-called "deglomeration" of the capital in the 1960's. But, despite opposite declarations, the disproportion remained in the next decade, exacerbated by arbitrary construction decisions involving large industrial investments, located, moreover, in a manner contradictory to the obvious interests of the city. Today we must also contend with this inheritance. At the same time, I would like to stress that with respect to this question, the status of authorities in the capital is unequivocal: they are responsible for further development of Warsaw industry, increasing its contribution to

the total national achievement, and increasing production. But this must be attained by intensive development, mainly through greater productivity and better management of available resources.

Against the background of these general problems, many particulars can be listed, most of all in the area of satisfying the needs of the people.

Problem number one, most extensive and universally recognized, is lack of housing. We must remember that owing to reconstruction efforts and development of Warsaw, quite satisfactory average indices were attained in this regard (in the city we have more than 550,000 housing units with the quite low average density of three persons per unit and one person per room). Nevertheless, there are approximately 150,000 families, especially young married couples wanting their own homes, waiting for improvement in housing conditions, sometimes for years.

In the recent past, these people were given easy promises: a complete resolution of the housing problem was promised by 1985, while construction results diminished from year to year during the second half of the 1970's. At present the "queue for housing" is becoming longer instead of shorter: in 1982 8,500 new housing units were completed, and in 1983 there will be even fewer. In that same 1982 there were 9,200 weddings, and 20,000 new residents (8,000 due to natural increase, and 12,000 as a result of migration, despite the maintained registration limitations).

How, then, can we contend with such a disadvantageous situation?

First of all, by improving the situation in construction. This situation is experiencing no small difficulties whose basic source, arising from the crisis in the national economy, is a lack of materials. Efforts continue on the part of city authorities to increase supplies (which depend mostly on deliveries from the national pool). At the same time, we must not close our eyes to subjective reasons for the poor performance by construction enterprises.

Generally speaking, breaking the impasse in housing construction requires an "attack on a wide front." On the one hand, improvement in supplies of materials and reconstruction as well as development of the working potential of enterprises, and on the other, the effect of discipline, increased productivity and better quality as well as improvement in work organization in construction, and a resolute battle against "traditional" bungling and wastefulness should lead, in 4-5 years, to almost

doubling the present production of housing units. Further possibilities rest in the full exploitation of the production potentials of housing construction by introducing better and more productive technology.

There is a certain opportunity for improvement also in the construction of single-family homes, realized mainly through the work of the residents themselves. This does not require heavy investment or the involvement of high specialized enterprises, and it can exploit inexpensive and available materials. The cost of a single-family home can be brought to a level comparable to a large unit in a multi-family block, and even lower than this level if the owner contributes his work.

Meeting the initiatives of the citizens, the authorities in the capital support the development of this form of construction. In this case it was necessary to break out of the habit of "old-fashioned" thinking that gave rise to the notorious barrier of "impossibility." Objective difficulties, linked mainly to obtaining and preparing adequate building sites, still remain. After adequate analysis, however, it seems that reserves of building sites still remain in the capital.

Also, the management of existing housing resources leaves much to be desired. The results of many years of neglect in maintaining and preserving buildings are troublesome for residents and are a heavy burden for the whole city economy.

The backlogs in this area can be expressed in an amount close to the costs of building the Warsaw subway, and just to cover the most urgent needs, we must immediately, and at the latest during the next two years, expend several billion zlotys, and this is with adequate exploitation of the production potential and with adequate and increased delivery of materials.

Although this is an exceptionally difficult task, particularly in the crisis situation, we are making the effort even now, in the years 1983-1985; expenditures for renovation of residential buildings will be significantly greater than in the entire 1976-1980 five-year period, which indicates a very significant increase, even considering the differences in prices.

Despite difficulties, most of the investment sources at the disposal of the capital are earmarked for the development of the technical infrastructure. To a degree unknown in the 1970's, we increased the number of buildings dedicated to educational purposes, and by the end of 1985, we may expect the first clear signs of an improvement in the situation with respect to pre-schools, and a year later, also in that of elementary schooling.

As a result of adjustments made with the department of energy, construction of the Kaweczn thermal-electric power station is proceeding more efficiently, and the government was helped also by an acceleration of the work on the northern water line and the right-bank water-purification plant. Finally, I would like to emphasize the historical significance of the construction of the first line of the Warsaw subway, started during the past year.

The decision in this matter, made by General of the Army Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and president of the Council of Ministers, undertaken during a period difficult for the national economy and realized with the help of the USSR, represents the beginning of a basic, structural breakthrough in mass transit in the capital. This is obvious to every resident of Warsaw, but it may still require a brief commentary for readers who are less familiar with the problems and needs of our city.

Every city with a population of more than one million should have an efficient transit system such as a subway (or municipal express railroad). This has a social and strictly economical basis. But the first studies and projects for subway construction had no chance of realization until now. One of the decisions on this construction was made in 1950, but work was interrupted after two years due to the enormous costs and technical difficulties of the project; then, through long decades, despite the efforts of city authorities and factual arguments of specialists, the opinion prevailed that "we cannot afford it." The promise given Warsaw residents in March 1974 that construction would begin during the 1976-1980 five-year period and that the first trains would be put into service in 1982 remained on paper.

Undoubtedly, this is a difficult and expensive investment, but, as comprehensive economic accounting indicates, it is cost-effective. In addition, the annual expenditures on it will not exceed those that would be needed for the construction of a new, elevated rapid transit system, which is not as necessary in Warsaw. Exaggerated also were the fears expressed in their time that the subway would have a fatal impact on the material balance of the construction industry (actually, it increased the total demand of Warsaw for basic building materials by a small percentage, approximately 5 percent), and the facilities of specialized enterprises engaged in working on it are not involved in building housing.

Taking advantage of the opportunity, in these January days marking the 39th anniversary of the liberation of Warsaw from

Hitler's occupation, I would like to congratulate all those who fought for the capital, participated in its reconstruction, and rushed to help it in that difficult time, on whom Warsaw can always depend.

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CSO: 2600/662

POLAND

POREBSKI DELIVERS PZPR POLITBURO REPORT

LD182041 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1845 GMT 18 Feb 84

[*"Excerpts"* from PZPR Politburo report delivered at the 15th PZPR Central Committee Plenum by Tadeusz Porebski, Politburo member and secretary of the Central Committee--recorded, no video available]

[Text] Esteemed comrades, on 28 January this year, PZPR voivodship conferences came to an end. Thus, the report-back and election campaign in our party also came to an end. It had begun with a decision made at the 13th Plenary Session of the Central Committee held on 15 October 1983.

We carried it out over a relatively short period of time and it took, in fact, 3 months. Over the last 3 years--from 1981 till 1983--we have had a total of two report-back and election campaigns and one report-back campaign. We gave these campaigns 15 months. These campaigns offered many opportunities for creative discussion. In the first place, it drew up our line for socialist renewal and reforms. Subsequently, we focused ourselves and our attention on the methods of implementation of this line in party organizations and workplaces. All in all, it activated the party, its primary organizations and it strengthened our ranks. When appraising the processes which took place within our party over the recent period of time and which stood out in particularly bold relief during the report-back and election campaign which has now come to an end, we will make use of a picture which can be termed a middle one; a picture which has an advantage of being able to point to the basic trends in the whole of the party; a picture with the following disadvantage: that it blurs the sharp focus in which we see the situation in individual bodies of our party.

Not all the phenomena that we shall be talking about will lend themselves to being corroborated by figures. Therefore, our appraisal of some of them must need [to] rely upon our impressions, subjective feelings and, above all, our political experience.

In order to give a relatively correct analysis of the state of our party as it is today, we must refer back to the past, so as to be able to compare how it was before. Only this kind of comparison can yield the answer to the question of what has changed for the better in our party, the question of where, in what areas, we still continue to lag behind, what is new that has appeared in the life and work of various bodies of our party.

The work of departmental and primary party organizations and the work of works committees will always determine the strength of our party. Party echelons at all levels ought to support these organizations, help them, generalise the best experience and, finally, convey the interpretation and explanation of the party's policies to these bodies.

Esteemed comrades, in the 70's, the primary party organizations had very limited opportunity for exerting a real influence on the socioeconomic sphere; conditions for a systematic ideological and political work great steadily worse in the party; the party's influence on society grew weaker.

The party, deprived, in its basic organizations, of the possibility of exerting a tangible influence on the state policy in the broadest sense of the word, was incapable of discharging its role--the role of the leading force in society.

We all bear this period in mind and it is, therefore, not necessary, to dwell on it in detail. Over that period of time our party scored a historic achievement: at the 9th Congress, it worked out Marxist-Leninist appraisal of the situation and a constructive program for emerging from the crisis.

The strength to face the onslaught of anarchy and to embark on effective action was, however, lacking. Penetrating assessment of that period was also carried out by the 7th Central Committee Plenum, the first after the introduction of martial law, thus fully confirming the will of the Central Committee, and the entire party to implement resolutions of the extraordinary congress. Thus, if we compare results of party activity during three periods, before 1980, in 1980-81, and now, it should be stated that despite numerous difficulties fuller chances have come into existence for the proper functioning of all our links. The party, and her links, linked with greater independence and responsibility, thus achieved better, and at the same time more difficult conditions for activity. The number of areas has increased on which we should work and fight.

The direction of economic reforms adopted by the party is meeting with public support. The working people are waiting for positive effects of the reforms, therein seeing a chance for coming out of the crisis and for a subsequent, successfull development. The view about interdependence between economic results of own enterprises and the standard of living of the working people is becoming widespread. Any deviations from the adopted reform principles and the use of its mechanisms to achieve benefits unjustified by economic results are met by strong criticism. There were repeated motions, which, in any case, have been submitted earlier, about the need to carry the principles and understanding of the reform to every production link and place of work.

Unlike the enterprise conferences, the critical voices at the conferences of the higher level were of a more general nature with a smaller number of self-critical accents. At the same time, the existing manifestations of inflation, bad management, waste were mostly sought in the activity of other enterprises and less so on the home ground. In this situation the duty of party committees and organizations is to initiate discussions and above all activities which strive for releasing reserves, improving productive activity and liquidating the causes of the appearing paresis.

A new, greatly-beneficial phenomenon in the report back election campaign was the tidying of personnel matters by the primary party organizations and branch party organizations. At 4,200 meetings, 7,900 members and candidate members were deleted or expelled from the party. It is worth stressing this. At the same time, during the campaign over 5,000 candidates were accepted to the party ranks, including a significant number of young workers. Significant numbers of candidates were in particular accepted in Katowice, Wroclaw, Bydgoszcz, Olsztyn, Poznan, Koszalin, Leszno, Szczecin and Zielona Gora voivodships.

A significant task of the meetings and conferences were elections of new party authorities. This, comrades, is a whole great army. At the voivodship level alone we have elected 5,750 members and candidate members of voivodship committees, over 1,700 members of voivodship party control commissions, about 1,700 members of voivodship auditing commissions, which makes the total of more than 9,000 party activists elected out of 14,606 delegates.

Here we need to look at the social composition of the newly elected authorities. It is true that the participation of workers and peasants in the party authorities at the voivodship level is lower than their participation in the composition of the party. But it is not true that it has fallen in comparison with the previous term of office. In the expired term of office, workers constituted 19.7 percent of the total of members on the voivodship committees. At present, it amounts to 27 percent. Correspondingly, peasants constituted 11.5 percent and now 13.9 percent. In the composition of first degree echelons, the social composition of the newly-elected authorities is similar to the previous term of office. However, we assess the results of the elections in the last campaign, we must always bear in mind that they are the fruit of democracy, of the free will and state of awareness of the electors--just as democratic centralism and the norms of party life decree.

The rotation in the composition of the authorities of our party is a normal phenomenon. The point is, however, for every activist, every party worker, who did not get onto the party authorities in the recent elections to find a suitable task for himself--and after all, we have no shortage of work and tasks.

Before the election campaign began, there were fears that its course would be negatively affected by matters like the difficult market situation, the announcement of food price increases--that this would have an effect on the attendance, discussions and desire to stand as a candidate for the authorities. All these phenomena which the pessimists foresaw did not, however, occur. It is hard not to remark that we would be giving a bad account of ourselves if the matters felt by working people often as of first priority were not appreciated fully in party discussion. The campaign showed that the concerns of everyday life are, in fact, reflected as they should be in the party: in a search for ways of overcoming them in the sphere of production, distribution, social policy and fiscal policy. Perhaps, in this searching, there was too little perception of one's own, direct tasks; too much looking at central decisions, but the direction itself was perceived correctly.

The campaign confirmed that new relations are being created between the basic party organizations and the echelons and between the echelons and the executive bodies. The party apparatus is also finding its place better and better. These

relations, the new relations, should be strengthened and developed and an urgent watch should be kept to guard them against the threats occurring here and there, which have their origin in the past era of work in our party.

In the course of the campaign, as has already been said here, party groups were enlivened. Five hundred new ones were set up. The system of individual party tasks is more and more widely gaining acceptance, although there is still a great deal of incompetence in defining and carrying them out. The implementation of own resolutions and proposals is checked on more scrupulously than was customary in the past. There is progress in basic party organizations assessment of the attitudes of party members. The increase in demands is paving a way for itself into the party's awareness and also the assessment of party members from the angle of their professional, social, ethnical and of their being in the vanguard of their milieu is becoming an essential element in our party. All these positive signs in inner-party life found their reflection and confirmation in the report-back and election campaign under discussion.

It is important however, that this is not causing self-satisfaction, as these are only the seeds of permanent phenomena which will need to be enriched. There was also no shortage of awareness that all good beginnings have a dangerous enemy in the shape of remnants of routine, lack of feeling, red tape and the danger of their return. In general evaluation, however, one must state that our party came out of the report-back and electoral campaign stronger, more aware of its capabilities but at the same time more aware of its shortcomings and of new tasks. Esteemed comrades, we are half way through the implementation of the resolutions of the 9th Party Congress. The congress mapped out the programmatic line for the party's rebirth, for it taking over the initiative in overcoming the reasons and effects of the crisis. The congress resolutions are implemented in the social, economic and political life, in spite of difficult internal and external circumstances. We have achieved a marked progress in stabilization of the political and social life. This is the result of the line of accord and struggle which was adopted at the congress. The platform of accord is expanding and the influence of the political enemy is shrinking.

We have entered the stage of restoring of the economic balance in our country in spite of obstacles created by a number of the capitalist states and in particular by the administration of President Reagan. Results achieved so far, although modest, would not have been possible without the efforts of the working people, and in particular the working class. In this the patriotism of the working class and its political wisdom is demonstrated. The collective patriotic effort of the significant part of our nation supported by the allied assistance of the countries of the socialist community and above all the Soviet Union, provides a guarantee of the successful liquidation of the effects of the economic crisis, although we do have the awareness that this will be neither simple nor easy.

The development of our country is strictly dependent on the social and productive activeness of the working people. In this sphere the leading role is given to our party and the political forces which support its program of socialist renewal. Only the politically and ideologically united and organizationally cohesive party, guided in its action by principles of Marxism and Leninism, is capable of leading the nation in the construction of socialism in Poland.

POLAND

EMIGRE, DOMESTIC OPPOSITION WRITERS ASSAILED

Warsaw ARGUMENTY in Polish No 5, 29 Jan 84 pp 1,3,4,5

[Article by Andrzej Wasilewski: "Opposition as Disposition"]

[Text] From time to time I come across published items written by fallen angels. The Holy Scriptures say that pride led to their fall, and the fruit of this, in turn, is a fierce hatred of the act of creation. Henceforth they were not to have a moment's peace, as if tied by their fall to the hated act. This much the book of eternal wisdom tells me, and this biblical theme keeps running through my mind whenever I read the writings reaching me from the underground or from abroad. Hatred as a deep awareness of the fall, pride as a substitute method for self-exaltation, deviation as a source of a poisonous obsession, depriving forever the equilibrium of the spirit--this is the cursed circle within which the literary activity of the fallen angels exists.

An ill will rules indivisibly in this circle, and ill will is the most treacherous prompter of literature. It takes away its dignity as a fair judge, subjecting disputes to manysided tests, degrades it to the role of libeler, circulating from a safe place the most abominable fabrications about people. In literature a safe place is a deception and libelers are immediately detected and receive their deserved punishment. The punishment is a sudden decline in the quality of literature, a repelling dullness of everything they write, a kind of numbing stupefaction, as if they had voluntarily removed from themselves the more highly developed ability to make judgments.

There is Kazimierz Brandys, author of MIESIECY (MONTHS), in which, while floating between New York and Paris, he assiduously records negative information on "the reality in Poland". He has proven more than once how dangerous for a writer are the too-close connections with the propaganda machine which devours writing talents. And yet now, in the role of a libeler, he gets rid of even that which he had to lose and what he himself valued most highly in his writing, that is, elegance, moderation and decency. Unmindful of the admonitions flowing from biographies, he enters into the depths of black propaganda, as if he had constant need for some kind of external guarantee, some kind of powerful support for what he writes. But when it happens that authoritative support is given to stupidity, he is willing to degrade himself to the lowest level of that stupidity. Here are some selected excerpts from his MIESIECY (1982-1983):

(...) "The slogan promoted in the government apparatus was repeated to me: 10,000 killed - 10 years of peace, 20,000 killed - 20 years of peace."

(...) "In April, during dinner, a priest from Silesia appeared, an ornithologist and bird fancier. 'Madam, in Poland you hear the cries of people being beaten, there is terror in the country, madam. (...) Because he hung out a red-and-white banner, a 17-year old boy is going to prison for 3 years... We are afraid of hunger, and that a pestilence will fall on the country, because in the villages lice infestations and scabies are already present.'"

(...) "Stories told by a young woman were passed on to me. She came from a university environment several days ago from Warsaw on a 3-months' scholarship. About beatings and killings."

(...) "Someone's opinion was quoted: the oil for this mechanism is blood, otherwise the mechanism will seize."

(...) The ZOMO [special police detachment]--counterpart to the SS in Poland, show brutality and rage in street conflicts with the people, attesting to bestialization."

(...) "I listened to stories about a priest who was put into an automobile at night and driven blindfolded to barracks where he heard the confessions of four soldiers who had been sentenced to death for failure to obey orders. It is not certain whether this is a genuine fact or a rumor."

(...) "My visitor is in favor of bloodshed. He says very flatly that there is no other way, that a slow castration threatens. He says that the alternative is only a sham. There is no other way out because the authorities do not want a compromise. My visitor also gives the opinion of his mother who lives in Wroclaw: 'Thirty million will die? But six will be left, plus seven abroad.'"

This phantasmagoric world of Gruel-propaganda, which Brandys so willingly trusts, here, where the events are described, requires no comment. It is sufficient to quote to have enough. The propaganda campaign from which the real threat comes, is taking place somewhere else: when with that much knowledge about reality Kazimierz Brandys stands before a microphone and calls upon Polish literature to move to the West, it must evoke the anxious question: Why? In order to rise to the same heights that he himself rose to?

Here is Stanislaw Baranczak, the new eminence of numerous foundations and even more numerous editorial boards, an already inseparable component of the landscape of endless propaganda spectacles. Because of this he exercises a dual authority: as a disposer of foundation funds and as an echelon which issues opinions on authors' political channels. With a single stroke of the pen he summons them to patriotic glory or strikes them down into the depths of moral anathema. An otherwise well-educated person, he does on his own part everything that he condemns on the part of others: he instrumentalizes literary life and literature and portions out payments in opinion and money for utilitarian services. Full payment, if the services were given in writings, and

partial payments if the service is only in the behavior of the authors. Recently he gave his blessing to the "Anthology of Martial-War Poetry", in which among the rhymed attempts at a prize, reminding one of exercises on an assigned subject, he was particularly captivated by one, in which he noticed a signpost for Polish poetry. The point of this verse is worth quoting:

...To work, to work, to work, to work,  
And from work to work, to work and from work,  
And from work to work, to work and from work,  
O WHORE! How long can this go on, countrymen?

Everything in this little masterpiece of utilized art is worthy of itself. The subtlety of the words corresponds to the depth of the thought, the artistic taste, the courage of civic ideas, and for good measure, this little service job, this disgraceful product of villainous ethos, was blessed with the name of Norwid.

Baranczak-poet is more elaborate than Baranczak-critic, which is doubtless connected with the fact that as a consultant he is motivated more directly by the utilitarian goals of the foundation for which he must do his work. In foundation regulations this is called the performance of a function of "an authorized center of recommendation."

But this is always the same current of aggressive propaganda, except that it is done by more developed means: Gruel-propaganda which harps on the same thing over and over acquires a Polonian polish. In the bombastic poem entitled "Restoration of Order", published in January 1983, i.e., after enough time had elapsed to make it possible to see things more clearly, the circumstances of martial law were presented in the obligatory spirit of a Reagan-approved broadcast. And so there were "tents in an open field" in the December cold, there are "gun barrels pointed at backs of heads", there are "torn-off fingernails", there are "human torches", and there is the sinister analogy: "After many years, there were so many lists disclosed with crosses next to the names and graves where they were buried during the night in plastic bags."

When such bombastic claptrap is served up by the press this is dirty work, but it is included in the costs of the profession. But what can be said when it is served up in poems. The interpretation of poetic truth at the Polish-studies seminars at Harvard University will be very bad.

And then there is Marek Nowakowski, until recently an efficiently functioning average-category writer, fascinated by the world of social outcasts, in which he sought to discover people who were liberated, who rejected life within the confines of a routine life in the name of ethically higher laws for a free individual. This is a mythology as old as the world, but it had to take a large dose of childish inclination to pursue it under conditions of a rampant social pathology, in which the social outcasts, those on the fringe, became the creators of social norms, and the people who worked according to the law, became the fringe. But Nowakowski continued this myth with unquestionable charm, populating his short stories with colorful characters. But lo and behold, in the 1980's he abandoned his world, and dressed the "liberated man" in an insurgents uniform. But perhaps he did not abandon it for good, because underneath

the swashbuckling uniform beats the heart of a bum. Suffice it to say that from a lyrical glorifier of the streets-person world he transformed himself into a pathetic bard of relentless conspirators and thus wasted himself as a writer. A bum, dressed from head to toe in national colors, a bum in a uniform, instead of making genuine moves strikes theatrical poses and all of Nowakowski's creativity suddenly wilted. What remained in it was a tendency to puerility, previously amusingly perverse and now dangerously vacuous. Today's Nowakowski reminds us of a child tinkering with an unexploded shell, pretending that he is taking part in a real war.

In "Report on Martial Law" everything is designed for the infantile imagination: the conspirators are incredibly plucky and perform miracles of heroism, the persecutors allow themselves to be taken advantage of like dummies, the tanks are almost firing, etc.

Yes, this is an infantilized world, but this child already has the nature of a libeler. In this "Report" there is a little story about how people, in final desperation driven by hunger into a queue at 5 o'clock in the morning, tormented by cold and fear of repression, were brutally treated by policemen making their rounds, who in the end took a bribe and left. In a word--the same horror story about a licentious soldiery and an exhausted nation which Brandys copies with such frenzy. Except that Brandys confabulates in New York, and Nowakowski on the spot, in Warsaw.

Made up of such stories, the "Report" obtained a record number of approvals and translations. The western countries of the world raced to print it in order to confirm the reliability of that which they had talked about earlier.

#### The Programmed Exile

There is no use here in citing further examples of this paraliterature, publicized extensively as the flight of a free spirit. All of them come from under the same die. Their common feature is that they are ideally harmonized with the current slogans of western propaganda. If in the propaganda factory depicting the world according to Hollywood mentality Poland is shown as a big Auschwitz, then immediately in the "independent poetry" there are appearances of barbed wire, naked women being driven through the snow, police dogs, and anonymous graves. And if it is said that work is being done at a turtle's pace, then the independent echo replies: "And from work to work, to work and from work, o whore, how long can this go on, countrymen?" If the subject assigned is "renounce Yalta", then a poet born in the Recovered Territories immediately becomes nostalgic for Lwow; the journalists, in chorus, talk about the occupation which has gone on uninterruptedly since September; and some add from themselves that the Nazi occupation was better because it was linked with emotion and adventure--by which they perhaps take on their own measure of self-degradation.

But at this time the sly instinct of self-defense enters in. In order to shield this degradation of literary practice from accusations, in order to raise this manginess to a pedestal on which it will become untouchable, the strength of the legend of the Great Emigration is invoked.

These literary peddlers, who service only the wealthier neighborhoods, are supposed to be the direct descendants of the most respectable romantic poets, the founders of our spiritual fatherland.

To document this lineage they submit, both in speech and in writing, unceasing declarations of identity, referring to sentences taken from the romantic classics, and copying their language, themes and prosody. In addition, with the greatest solemnity they visit the memorial and resting places of the poets. Those who can race to the Pere Lachaise cemetery, walk the routes of Paris addresses, and experience here and there an identification by pausing at the commemorative placques.

And yet the spirit of Adam [Mickiewicz], Juliusz [Slowacki] and Cyprian [Norwid] remains totally indifferent to all of these eloquent acts and really it is not surprising that it is not eager to give poetic inspiration. Because what a chasm separates their exile fate with the status of today's "exiles". For them--police harassment, surveillance of every step and the icy aversion of cabinets. And for these today--special favors from official and unofficial organs, the vigilance of governments, and the daily portion of publicity. For some, vegetation on the border of poverty, and for others bonuses, prizes, subsidies, honoraria, apartments from the authorities, paid travel, and payments awaiting them at various points of the globe. Our darling of the foundations, our sorrowful exile moves from a symposium in London to a conference in New York, from a lecture in Venice to a conference in Munich, from a meeting in Stockholm to a spectacle in Berlin, from which "following the path of the old exiles", he again goes to Paris, where the protective soul of the foundation will see to a further program for our wanderer.

Here we touch upon the next tremendous difference between emigrations. While brother Adam went to Rome or Turkey of his own will, despite the everpresent suspicious aversion of the governments, our wanderer is programmed from beginning to end and cannot depart by even one step from the assigned route. Mobility in space, giving the impression of freedom of travel, in essence may be the measure of mental life in fetters. He proves that his soul is now free by incessantly complaining about the world out of which he emerged, but in the political reality in which he now finds himself he must absolutely toe the line. It is hard then not to observe that there is nothing about him which would speak of unrestrained freedom or romantic nature. His freedom is measured out according to the orders for his services, his movements laid out by his salary, honoraria, scholarship funds and prizes, and his roles are written by the propaganda staffs. Material benefits are carefully measured by the political value of services, careers are advanced according to functional usefulness for propaganda apparatuses, existence or nonexistence dependent upon the usefulness indicator for their scale.

And these are indicators perfected by the world of business, with very sensitive measurement capability. A momentary neglect, a small inattention, departure from the course designated, a slower rate of turnovers--immediately causes a drop in value with all of the unpleasant effects on life. The feverish scurry around the assigned slogans, the showy aggressiveness of utterances and publications, the competition in loudness of voice, and at the same time the panicky avoidance of everything that would be dissonant against

the background of that choir--this is the more or less conscious adaptation to the way of life that this job requires. Individuality, had there, indeed, been any, is quickly and systematically made uniform, and only one kind of movement is allowed.

The satisfaction with which this extremely uniformized world looks at itself, seeing itself as fecund, exuberant, bright and free, is surprising. Yet its literary production attests to a numbing monotony, as if this flood of words were not coming from many different authors but from an automatic printing machine.

We can observe how the keys of this machine for years pound out the same single letter, except that the pressure of the keys becomes stronger and stronger. It may be that this growing pressure fills the machine with a sense of freedom and that in the satisfaction which this gives it, it does not hear its own steady monotony. More sophisticated assessments, more complex visions of the world, criticism of the obligatory slogans, suggestions of doubt--in essence all of this is already beyond the capability of the automatic writing machine. Its task is to throw a smokescreen over its own side and shower missiles at everything moving on the other side.

History shows that the activity of such a fire-spewing automatic printer does not record anything in literature that is worthy of respect. Time very quickly disarms these lethal missiles and throws them into the literary scrap heap. They appear uninterruptedly along the roads of literature and despite the melancholy scene that these piles of wordy scrap present, despite the lessons of humility which they give to literature, there will always somewhere be another group of authors ready to repeat this experience.

And maybe in every literary generation there really is a certain number of authors whose ambitions infinitely exceed their talents, and who because of this tend to seek levers outside of literature for their careers. For those half-talents, consumed by ambition, the possibility of enlisting under the banner of vulgar conformity is a salvation. Their inability to comprehend the world's complexities, the intricacies of human truths and the fates of history, they sell under this banner for the highest virtue which will assign them to the first roles in literature.

#### **The Trap of Manichean Propaganda**

The authors of such internal dimensions instinctively cling to the propaganda machines which divide the world into two colors, and these machines will already see to it that a drab and simple product in loud colors becomes a world sensation.

It is difficult to measure the losses sustained by a culture which is subjected to the influences of Manichean propaganda machines. They popularize and also sanction the process of primitive thinking, replacing it with an aggressive and categorical reflex, assigning the attributes of absolute evil to one side and absolute good to the other.

The spiritual climate which follows this creates in the field of the written word a special demand for people who fester with rabid animosity, who hunger for a daily dose of the Last Judgment, the joy of sentencing to eternal damnation or summoning to the highest glory.

In the world of literature there is never a lack of minds filled with bile and bitterness because of unfulfilled dreams of power. But under ordinary conditions they often cannot find an easy recompense for these frequent frustrations. But the climate of a Manichean propaganda supplies this recompense on an unusual scale. The unfulfilled masters of words, the would-be rulers of conscience, change into archangels with fiery swords, with the authority to judge both the living and the dead.

This has never happened before. In all of literature there has been no such powerful interference from the outside, frustrating the natural process of growing and imposing its Manichean order.

There was a time when the state demanded instrumental-propaganda services from artistic creativity. But this time has long passed, both in principle and practice of cultural policy, and no trace of this has remained. Cultural policy opened itself up to different values, and the ideological mission of the art is comprehended more deeply and broadly. Still, another propaganda machine entered the scene quietly and from the rear, making an incessant racket about dangers in the state's cultural policy. This machine is much more expansive in trivializing culture, and is even more imperious in the instrumental utilization of art. And thus, incessantly demonstrating holy fury, it shields the subjection of the entire spirit to the Manichean efforts of the other propaganda.

Among this group we often find people whose experience in practicing simplified literature helped them make a smooth transition to their new duties. This time, however, this act of devotion required a large dose of hypocrisy. The first marriage of writers and propaganda--that is, the misalliance at the beginning of the 1950's--took place in an aura of fresh innocence, almost an initiation into literary life, but today's union is being entered into by experienced old hands, who have wallowed in the mud of other propaganda and who cannot convince anyone other than themselves that they continue to live in blessed innocence.

Furthermore, the first marriage with propaganda was conducted openly, ostentatiously and publicly, while the present one reminds us of a concubinage in which the writers hasten to give these same services and pretend that they are maintaining full independence. These incorrigible hypocrites of the pen, who enter into this concubinage with a richly dowered propaganda, can be unerringly recognized by how they flaunt their moral purity.

#### A New Variety of Prudery

Out of all of these chaste pens, watchdogs of conscience, the most morally pure writers, there arose during a period of years a real political prudery, which brought to political life the same thing that its literary archetype brought into the sphere of customs.

The hero of this new variety of prudery which flourishes in the world of politics is the immaculate writer with the black mouth.

He is made up exclusively of these two components, woven into a dialectic union: the hell of rancor, aggression and anger pushes him to inglorious services, which he then tries to present as steadfastness in maintaining virtue. This type of writer is a recent acquisition in Polish literature. He exchanges the lofty spiritual role of this profession for two depressingly coarse acts--white-washing and blackening, and seeks sources of notoriety and success in bigotry. Literature as an instrument for acquiring knowledge about man and the world disappears in this circle, and its place is taken by a mass-produced preparation which is supposed to develop emotional reflexes and the desired states of excitement.

Therefore, for the first time on this scale a type of writer appears who does not work to enrich the hearts of his contemporaries, but works to vulgarize them.

The element in which he lives and which he expresses is calumny, gossip, dark machination, reptilean treatment of everyday events, pursuit of the evil instincts in human nature and protracted mass complaints. The more blithely he marauds in these murky regions, the more conscientiously he displays, for public view, a solemn face glowing with holy fire.

The products emerging from this spiritual state are mediocre, insipid and at the same time overblown, and cannot be otherwise. Political prudery, just as any prudery, with its ambiguous moral countenance, cheating on the inside and elegant on the outside, cannot shape free and open attitudes. What can be expected from an author who pretends that he does not know from what he is prospering, and at the same time burns with holy indignation? What kind of judgments about reality, what kind of moral and mental leadership can come from the pen of persons who attribute all of their authorship position to their adroitness in seizing opportunities created by the propaganda war for opinions?

The brutal invasion of the propaganda war is really devastating to Polish literature. It begins with evoking a mass psychosis in which a vulgar judgment, a shoddy allusion, the most stupid opinion put into circulation, takes on the quality of a revelational diagnosis. It entices authors to a so-prepared mental ground, and then through corruption, support and flattery molds them into producers of easy and agile judgments on reality. Finally, this self-evoked unsophisticated product announces with the help of this same machine the peak achievement of Polish literary work. Thus the circle closes, with devastating effects on the public, the author, and literature.

Most damaging in all of this is the demoralizing ease with which the second-rate author is transformed into the spiritual leader, the highest moral echelon of the nation. After every such campaign, suitably proclaimed in the world of Polish literature, the chances for genuineness and truth diminish. Not values brought into the work, not talent, not the work itself, but standing in front of propaganda transmitters can put one into the ranks of the immortals or knock one down to the ranks of the "regime mediocrity". There are cases of some

who have reached the list of "leading names" in this way, with achievements not really known to anyone but accepted in good faith on the basis of persuasion. And to the contrary, there are cases where something has not been written for fear of risking one's name to the reptilean vengeance of the transmitters.

#### Culture in the Political-Apartheid System

Manichean interference in the value of culture begins, therefore, with the division of names into good and bad and leaving a certain number in the limbo of encouragement and caution. And in a way that there should not be a shadow of a doubt that the "good" will, without a moment's break, be escalated upwards, and the bad, without ceremony, will be stamped into the ground, regardless of what they really mean for culture. Just this manipulation with names undermines the credibility of the values of culture being circulated. And after all, this is only preliminary to the more serious operation. Simultaneously with the black-and-white segregation of names, a policy of a peculiar kind of apartheid is being conducted in relation to the writings. By the political color of the skin itself, writings, in advance, are assigned to the highest class, even though they may be vacuous, parochial and limited. And there are writings that are relegated to cultural nonexistence, even if they are of real value. Under these circumstances, the main concern of many authors is simply a change of skin. If you are bad, you can become almost good if you change your color even a little bit. You can become entirely good if you turn white. And you can become brilliant, distinguished, excellent, and leading, when you finally achieve the color tone that is called immaculate.

The "immaculate" group crowns the building of culture formed in the spirit of political apartheid. They may pronounce irrevocable judgments on everything, and themselves remain outside the reach of evaluating opinions. Criticism of an "immaculate" becomes a profanation, a disgraceful act which threatens the moral order and is subject to immediate and severe punishment. The signal to administer punishment is the word "disgrace", hurled usually by the "immaculate" one when he feels he has been profaned. This invective is self-sufficient proof, because no one knows how to notice a foul deed as expertly as one who is perfectly white. The number of "immaculate" in a given population can be counted by the density of the "disgraceful" and "disgrace" cries.

The status of "immaculate" requires long efforts and exertions, but the first step leading to it is uncomplicated. In practice, every author who wants to rise higher can quickly advance. The sudden acceleration occurs precisely on the demarcation line separating the two worlds. Anyone who has exhausted his chances on one side, who feels that his star is fading, or the reverse, that he has not been able to break out of the ranks of the average, makes a step and in manifesting his presence on the other side, immediately increases in importance.

There are those who are tempted to "go all the way" immediately. There are others who believe that greater increases are achieved by permanent "residence abroad", i.e., in constant, vacillating movement, tilting slightly to one side and then the other.

All of this resourceful mobility could be regarded as a contribution to the study of human nature were it not for the fact that often it replaces the real work of creating value. Increase in value requires movement into the depth of thought, while movements on the surface are sufficient for an increase in importance.

The Manichean trap in which Polish culture has found itself makes it possible to simulate the processes of creating, simply by hurling words across the border. It is sufficient to hurl platitudes, gossip, a vicious description, an aimed stereotypical idea, ordinary malice, fierce trivialism, or simply to transfer oneself over--in order to make a giant of thought and courage out of a common, average or frustrated person.

Next, it is sufficient to move back a few steps and glance from a distance at the entire procedure, so that all of these artificially created amounts can take on a natural dimension. It can then be seen that out of these big names and fine writings only the small-fry and hackneyed remain.

Anyone familiar with what it takes to produce good writing and who is able to make an honest accounting must admit that out of this easy road to greatness only one thing can result for culture--a stupefaction stemming from the ease with which it is achieved, and a euphoric rush to the writing that the current state of affairs dictates is profitable.

Exploitation of the existing state of affairs for one's own benefit, with which we are dealing today, is as bad as it can possibly be. In creativity it is usually timid, attempting to divert attention from itself, and thus tends to stop and think, which is always good for art. But the exploitation that we have today is triumphal, grown impudent from the ease with which ovations are received, flushed with the endless parade of victories, and therefore, blind, deaf, shoddy and conceited. Combining economic exploitation with conceit must bring art to ruin. In such a state of spirit the self-correcting mechanism ceases to operate, and all brakes and regulators which force the individual to make a greater effort fail to function.

In time it will become apparent that the inseparable ingredient of this grandiloquent period in culture is demoralization. Too many people have learned to profit from divisions in the world. Too many have learned that the secret of success comes down to winning the differences in ideas appearing between blocs and selling for gold in one bloc that which in the other bloc goes for pennies. And as a result of these sales, many, in flooding the penny culture with coins, have seen themselves in the role of great creators.

The demoralization which ensues from this also extends to the processes of creation as perception. The creator is no longer perceived as being a serious person, reliable, collected, contemplating within the solitude of his soul how to measure out justice to the visible world. Another perception is multiplying--the perception of a destroyer, in pursuit of a favorable transfer, operating always under the protection of an offensive-defensive group, a hasty convert, a shrewd prosecutor always choosing only the most profitable object of accusation from among many possibilities.

Is it any wonder that when such a deterioration in quality occurs among the suppliers of culture a similar process of reduction of level also takes place among its recipients?

The figure of a recipient with aspirations, who comes to culture for better understanding, a more subtle hearing and sharper vision, for a finer intelligence, is forced out by the recipient who is ready to approach every subject with a standard idea, with a coarse set of aversions, anger, prejudices, misconceptions, who seeks by any flimsy way to consolidate his egoistic state.

If, for example, in a play in which the action takes place in a hospital, a totally innocent remark is made, such as "we were supposed to have "zurek" [a white borsch] and the patient instead receives Ukrainian borsch [red] for dinner, there will always be a group of spectators in the audience who at this point will applaud wildly and rock with convulsive laughter, giggling with delight, as if to indicate that finally the truth has been spoken, that after all, we understand each other. Never before in the theaters have we had such silly audiences. The example of demiurges in culture has attracted followers.

That is the emotional and mental state of mind produced by insane propaganda. Poems made up of a chain of invectives; short stories, whose entire content is venom, or just the opposite--full of maudlin heroes daringly responding to the appeal of leaflets; plays and works of fiction, in which every scene, every dialogue, delights the propagandists in the broadcasting stations, who, of course, have no time for literary games; journalistic writings, invariably made up of an odd mixture of mud and pathos, allowing the authors to gloat, thanks to their relentless railing against the enemies. And so this entire not-so-pretty output was supposed to be the continuation of the most lofty traditions of Polish literary production, the romantic-liberational theme of our literature. What claptrap, what a misleading confusion of ideas, doing a disastrous disservice to culture which is being persuaded that the cheap copper coin of propaganda is supposed to be as valued as a coin of the most noble metal.

#### The Negative Legacy of Oppositionism in Poland

It is not possible to imagine Mickiewicz as a courier service, funded by ruling cabinets across the length and breadth of Europe, giving lectures at the wish of the rulers of state, responding to discreet suggestions, taking honoraria paid from the funds of secret chancelleries, and from time to time receiving special rewards for extraordinary devotion to service.

This type of poet is not in keeping with the romantic code. Perhaps more so with the Wolter philosophy of life, although even he, having paid a fawning tribute to those in power, knew how to slip away and write what he wanted.

If we want to rediscover the prototype of writing paid from secret funds, we have to go back in history beyond Romanticism and beyond the Renaissance. It is closely connected with the specific type of opposition characteristic of the history of the Republic.

In its political traditions we rarely find examples of strictly internal opposition, opposition which stays within the state boundaries. Examples of opposition inspired and assisted by outside intrigue predominate. This was determined by the chronic weakness of the authorities, which encouraged the external rivals, and the weak sense of state ties, which gave impetus to the internal antagonists. Thus a model of opposition, unheard of elsewhere, appeared. External agents became accustomed to the ease with which they could operate among the politically split Poles, who in turn accepted as something very natural that with every rebellion, every conflict, and every dissatisfaction, they could run for support to foreign protectors.

Opposition in Poland rarely showed the moderation that the considerations of reasons of state would require. It almost always grew out of collusion against the state, entered into jointly by its rivals. The thalers of the Hohenzollerns, the florins of the Hapsburgs, the louises of the Bourbons, and at the decline of the Romanovs, also the rubles, broke up the diets and disrupted the regional councils, elected kings, influenced the internal and external course of the ship of state, always with the help of a willing clientele which in this way sought a way to gain advantage in internal conflicts, and sometimes simply easy sources of profit.

Thus the origin of Polish oppositionism is burdened with the infamy of the pursuit of private interests. And because it conflicts with the dictate of patriotism, so strong in Poland, it shaped for itself through centuries of practice a twisted kind of patriotic conscience, which knew how to reconcile one with the other. In addition to the gratuitous patriotism, a trading kind of patriotism appeared in Poland. The more concerned the trading patriotism was about outward appearances, the deeper it entered into dirty deals. Thus it was possible to build a patriotic legend while violating the elementary principles of the code of citizenship.

Only in two cases has Polish opinion felt it necessary to come right out with an unequivocal condemnation of the opposition magnates from the Swedish "flood" period and the protagonists of the Targowician camp. However, many groups of clients in the robes of the ancient Polish nobles, who from one generation to another, for thalers, louises, rubles and florins frustrated the plans of the royal rulers, wrote libels, indulged in intrigue, circulated slanderous verses, declaimed at noblemen's conventicles, tipping the scale in favor of foreign protectors, carousing around Poland as if in their own house--this entire group of corrupt rebels, made up of the bigwigs as well as the small-fry, have been given preferential treatment in the national memory. Just as if the concept of the betrayal of interests had been dulled or sharpened, depending on geographical direction, sharpened in relation to North and East, and passing into murky indecision until all sins were forgiven in the Southwest direction. It was possible to hire oneself out to the Hapsburgs and Bourbons, and sometimes even the Holenzollerns, without violating civic virtues.

The maturity of a political culture is measured by the degree to which the sense of a traditional partnership transformed itself into a sense of civic duty, dictating that all differences be confined within the bounds of the interests of the state. The earlier freedom of choice which allowed the rebellious potentates to flee to the rivalrous courts and return from them with an invading army, gave way to state discipline.

In Poland, where the entire class taking part in political life learned through the centuries how to trade the throne, enlist in overt or discreet service to outside dynasties, inspire intrigue and rapture in their interests--political morality has an extremely frustrated history.

Even this incomparable ease with which today's oppositionists pass from a citizenship status to the status of clients seeking protection, has its roots in this sad heritage. Calling, on this occasion, upon the legendary examples of Polish exile, is a search for a convenient alibi for oneself.

When some Polish exile, hiding under the pseudonym "Gamma", writes in the Paris KULTURA that we should today repeat after Mickiewicz: "We beg you, Lord, for a universal war of the people," because this would be good for our morale, then this insane cry can hardly be called anything except a profanation.

Some day Polish culture will be ashamed of these competitors for the mighty protectors dressed in romantic garb. At their instance, out of the depths of the historical past, a clientele returns, mentally and by custom ready to settle their accounts with the help of foreign courts, while directing their hearts, burning for the fatherland, in the direction of more lavish incomes.

#### On the Wealthier Side of the World

Opposition does not have to be demoralizing. Often it is a school of great character, noble thoughts, building sacrifice, fortitude and courage. Progress in human events would not be possible without constant negation of the state of the world as it is. Why, then, cannot an opposition which, in addition, called itself democratic, identify with such traits?

Because first of all it linked itself with the aggressive movement of the wealthier part of the world, directed against the poorest part. Next, because the country in whose interests it is allegedly appearing has every reason to oppose this aggressive pressure.

These two circumstances put the "democratic opposition" in a position in which everything that it does and everything that it says becomes a political ruse and a moral lie. Never in human history has there been a democratic movement in which the material and political backing has come from the rapacious sphere of millionaires. The lie comes to light when the mighty protector of the "democratic opposition" grants absolution to the bloody files of the licentious soldiery in the countries under him, handcuffs the unionists in his country, invades independent republics, jails their ministers and kills their citizens in hospitals--and the "democratic opposition" pretends that nothing has happened and in a clear sense of alliance with the defender of freedom permits him to stay in power.

This alliance takes for granted that certain irrevocable reflexes of the democratic conscience will be paralyzed. Therefore, the "democratic opposition" does not react to violence and lawlessness which the privileged sphere of the world inflicts on the weak and backward sphere. It is incompatible with the universal desire for peace, shared by those who profess democratic principles of all shades of differences.

In political conflicts occurring anywhere in the world (outside the socialist countries) the "democratic opposition" solidly hews to the line of the repressive forces, punitive expeditions, police, army, the apparatus of coercion which operates in the interest of the world of privileges. As a matter of fact, the "democratic opposition" sprang from the craving for private ownership, is bewitched by its prospering, and is in sympathy always and everywhere with anyone who comes to its defense.

Hence the next trait of this particular kind of democratism: its yearning to belong to the privileged world. This is reminiscent of the inherent mentality of the corrupted Third World social strata who, having tasted the standard of living in the metropolises, feel themselves more close allied with the world of their ex-colonizers than with the drab and arduous fate of their own world. Following their nostalgic aspirations, they prefer to be the emissaries of the glitter of the large metropolises in their own country than the spokesmen for the interests of their own countries in the metropolises. In a word, these are social strata of weak social awareness, with very little comprehension of their obligations to their young statehoods, distancing themselves from the interiors of their own countries and dominated by a desire to identify themselves with the lifestyle of the dazzling world.

Against the background of different historical circumstances, something similar occurred in our country. The "democratic opposition" is springing up from the social strata which are being drawn to the wealthier parts of the world. These groups have a weak sense of domestic obligations and are therefore easy to entice and corrupt. The hunger for life in the foreign-exchange world, the distance to the zlotys interior, collides with the rigors of a barely-established statehood, and shatters them without scruples. This is made even easier because the material status obtained in this way is further combined with moral comfort, because defection to the foreign-exchange world is assumed, in this wretched interior, to be a service to the nation because it is building bridgeheads for the future.

And after all, wherever you look there are many corruptible people, people who change their protectors frequently. People who are infinitely vain, ready for anything in return for world flattery. Odious people who cannot distinguish themselves in a normal way. Shrewd dealers in patriotic emotions who know how to turn these emotions into a profit for themselves. But what is most important is that this entire movement is dedicated heart and soul to those who dispose of the world's wealth. They want to be with them, will owe everything to them, and are at their every beck and call. It is by this unconscious desire to be liked, to become part of the privileged world, that the relationship of the opposition to its own country gradually degenerates.

Thus the dual lie, which intersects this edition of a Pole, becomes complete; a democrat who has his gaze fixed on the world of multimillionaires, accepting its articles of faith, and a patriot who is ready to bring disaster and calamity on his own country, so long as it makes life difficult for the internal enemies.

### The Professing of Democratic Principles, and Privileges

All of this has already been. We know this grandiloquent tone, patriotic and freedom-proclaiming, concealing the triviality of corruptible practice. We know it from the oratory of the Sarmatian clientele which offered its golden-tongued service to anyone who wanted to play the Polish card.

But today this historically discredited position has a new alibi, one which permits the democrats under the sign of Croesus and the patriots under the sign of Radziejowski to present themselves in an unblemished form. This facilitates Poland's special position on the world's econopolitical map.

As an economic unit, backward in development, it found itself outside the club of the privileged states, somewhere halfway between the civilizational rear-guard of the Third World and the prosperity-advanced countries which now have the advantage of being in first place. This is not the place to examine the errors made during the attempts to improve this position, the incompetencies which in themselves were also a kind of expression of backwardness. The fact is that in order for the country to advance economically, other developmental methods were required, other ways of accumulating means, than those which the privileged club could take advantage of. In any case, Polish reality had to be poorer and more meager.

The desire to accelerate the stages of development, and at the same time, the concern for universal advancement, left its imprint of crudeness, unattractiveness and drabness, which is always the result of limited means widely divided.

And so in this flat-gray landscape of life, which was partly the result of backwardness and partly the result of promoting a method to improve the fortunes of the backward, a call for a standard of living as it exists in the privileged world became more persistent. Two matters mingle in this call, matters which differ in their origin but are not different in the perception of the public: The claim that the country as a whole did not find itself in the club of the privileged countries which have a generally high standard of living, and the claim that within the country there is no acquiescence, by the political system, for the creation of socially differing standards. And although the lack of historical privileges in a country is something different from a lack of gradation of privileges in the structure within the country, although these claims conflict with one another, although an attempt was made to hasten the improvement of general standards by equalizing the standards of the privileged--the average, frustrated mentality confuses everything with everything else, demands a more appealing standard of living, and blames the reality of the political system for the absence of such a standard of living.

Socialism, indeed, is "guilty" of suppressing the ranking of material goods, and it does not permit the full development of the infrastructure of life relative to the different degrees of affluence. Nevertheless, by extinguishing the glow of this privilege, it also made a great effort to lessen the distance between this country as a whole and the historically privileged countries.

This basically democratic option of socialism has turned against it. Progress achieved at its instance raised the standard of living, but this standard was always this same flat plateau, except that it was raised slightly. But it was still far from that of the privileged countries, to say nothing about the heights of the property privileges in these countries.

The temptations of wealth coming from those countries aroused decentralization tendencies on the plateau, the desire to reject the rigors of the political system, or to advance to a higher position on an individual basis. That is when a mentality similar to the unhealthy syndromes of the Third World, sprang up. It is characterized by a barely perceptible degree of sympathy with the contemptuous regard for the homeland's interior and an unrestrained rush to the gold-bearing metropolis. The flight from one's own world is an ennobling act, according to this mentality, producing an automatic increase in value. To force one's way in, buy one's way in, and fit oneself into a world of privileges means not only to grab something material for oneself, but also to become someone higher and better in terms of prestige.

But to say that this imitative movement, this traumatic drive for affluence, stems from love of democracy, is utter nonsense. It seems from the unwillingness to share the fate of a backward country, and within its limits, to a structure that inhibits the development of privileges and the pleasures of life that go with these privileges. Yet the experience of backward countries, who have a real ambition to develop, dictates another kind of democracy: a restriction on individual growth and group and strata privileges so that everyone, the population as a whole, can attain the standards of the privileged countries more rapidly. Speaking figuratively, in one concept democracy is more and more goods produced and sold universally for zlotys, and in another concept it is more and more customers for PEWEX as a pioneering form of democracy. The "democratic opposition" has been dominated by democrats of the foreign-exchange type.

The hereditary instability of the Polish civic code, which sees but ignores the outside hiring, obtains, under our conditions, additional absolution as a result of the world competition between two systems. The material advantage of the other side permits its advocates to take on the appearance of a democratic movement which wants to make the new wealth available to its countrymen. But in reality they are on the side of the world of the wealthy, whose protectorate over a backward country can only have a neo-colonizing character. that is, confirming the sickliness of the country at the price of doled-out areas of prosperity to the intermediary social groups.

#### Spiritual Poison

But there is still another type of patriotic excuse serving the same purposes. That is the suggestion, without any qualms of conscience, that the state is not a Polish state, but is an imposed, perfidious form of concealed enslavement. This absolves one of the obligation of loyalty to the state. And from here it is only one leap to the sanctified symbols reposing in the national treasury of romanticism. Having said that there is no Polish state and that the country is in servitude, acts of extreme civic disloyalty can be represented as acts full of romantic glory.

Just as there is no conjunction between romantic fortunes and today's emigrants, neither is there a conjunction between the fortunes of the countries in these two different eras. It is a real affront to romantic traditions that in their name mercenary transactions are conducted aimed at a country which after centuries has been unified, which is stubbornly seeking its own balance, and its own unrepeatable, perhaps, historical opportunity.

Because there can be no talk about national oppression, about the denial of culture and speech, about the persecution of traditional beliefs, about the inhibition of progress in the economic field--the opposition talks about the demonic sovietization which deprives Poland of its wealth and its strength, and is a more refined form of the former partition of Poland. The fear of the devil is used when there are not enough reasonable arguments. A Pole should beware of anti-sovietism, or to put it another way, anti-Russianism, not only because it conflicts with its national reason of state, but also because anti-sovietism deprives him of the ability to understand the world, himself, and his own interests.

Much has been written in our country about the spiritual poison that is anti-semitism. Much more can be written on the adverse effect on our minds, on our mental health, and on our spirit, of anti-Russianism. For no one is it a poison as dangerous as it is for us, the closest neighbors, entangled in the complex accounts of the past and constantly enmeshed in the intrigues of the West.

With the help of anti-Russianism the opposition forgives the weaknesses and defects accumulated through the course of history. Because of the soviets the Poles are not successful economically, services are inflated, a demoralizing cancer rankles public life, and duties are performed with resistance and carelessly. This retouching is so necessary to the opposition's self-portrait that if there were no "soviets" they would have to be invented.

The inferiority complex brought about by the constant comparisons with the world is relieved in this way. However, the forgiveness of weakness alone is not sufficient for complete relief. There still has to be a feeling of superiority, which cannot be achieved. That is why the specter of demonic Asia is necessary in a dual role. As a background against which they compare their own praiseworthy qualities and as a traditional oppressive force which does not allow these feelings of superiority to be achieved.

And yet these same watchdogs of human nature, who come to a boiling point when they sniff out even a supposed scent of anti-semitism, not only have no inhibitions but on the contrary, have a sense of a well-executed mission when they come out against an "asiatic substance" that they themselves dreamed up. Their noble consciences suddenly vanish, they become vigilant to every sin against human gospel, and a wave of dark prejudice freely overflows. An oppositionist brought up in this emotional school is incongruous against the background of the contemporary world, despite all of the flatteries heaped upon him by the commissioned Polonophiles from the sphere of privileged wealth. Negative emotions, which this sphere does not stint, are confined to the dispassionate interests, suspended as necessary, controlled by rationalized criteria-- but they are never frantic and blind.

In 1941 Churchill diametrically reversed the impression of the Soviet Union by acknowledging that a country which had been thus far painted in the darkest color was deserving of admiration as a defender of mankind. And he consistently repeated this to Englishmen for many years, despite his known aversion to communism. Churchill, the product of a consummate English statehood, was the precise opposite of the primitive hater which we have had occasion to come in contact with recently. The former was capable of a well-considered respect, while the latter still has a blind spot in his outlook on the world.

And it is this precisely primitive hatred, untouched by the political culture which a school of consummate statehood creates, that without hesitation betrays and derides the state as a substitute for an obsessively hated enemy.

In "Sejm Czteroletni" [Four-Year Sejm], published over a hundred years ago, Walerian Kalinka wrote:

"The dictionary of Polish public virtues contained all virtues except obedience, and without obedience it is not possible to either create a government or maintain a state. (...) For several generations now, the Polish citizen was not subject to public rule. (...) For a long time the spirit of opposition dominated the nation, and popularity was achieved far more quickly and far more safely through opposition than through work. For a long time the government in Poland was extremely difficult and required so much effort to overcome the obstacles set forth by its own people that when they were overcome successfully there was little strength left to do something positive. Time and resources were wasted on useless scuffling, on unproductive and malicious criticism, and on trivial vexation."

And during the Second Republic, exactly halfway between Kalinka's work and today, Eugeniusz Kwiatkowski continued this theme in "Dysproporcje" [Disproportions]:

'Every great personality, every statesman, who was bold enough to express even the weakest opposition to the current of customary evil, leading the state inevitably to ruination, faced a life strewn with thorns and rocks in Poland and he was not forgiven until after his death when he could no longer disturb the peace of the anarchized brotherhood of the nobility. Every most unjust and perfidious and malicious accusation made against the finest son of the fatherland, immediately became an unshakeable certainty in the minds of the public. Every indication of esteem was accepted with skepticism or enviously passed over in silence, unless it referred to a person just as evil as the leaders of opinion themselves. (...) On the other hand, all sowers of dissent, informers, rebels, and even direct betrayers of Poland, if they knew how to use the opposition, enjoyed great popularity.'

#### Without An Immunological Barrier

In less than three years, which in history is a very short time, the legend of opposition, having gone full circle, returned to its negative origins: from opposition in the role of a proofreader repairing the mechanism of ruling to opposition in a destructive role, destroying the state organism.

In the history of Polish statehood through entire centuries the opposition current stemmed from the slogan that the rule has fallen into the hands of a usurper, an imposed dynasty, an unwanted king, and that therefore it is by its very essence illegal and so it cannot demand loyalty from its citizens who have the right to negotiate with whomever they want and on what they want. The history of the Polish state does not know any other opposition, with the exception of a short episode between the wars, a period too short and too unfortunate to have been able to produce a higher political culture.

In countries which have a ripe state tradition the opposition is a group which seeks alternative solutions to political problems within the framework of the inviolable interests of the country. Anyone who tramps on these interests, betrays and derides them, loses the right to call himself an oppositionist and becomes a troublemaker or a renegade who puts himself beyond the pale of society.

The concept of opposition in and of itself assumes a recognition of the existence of the state. There was no opposition in Poland during the partitions, or in Poland during the nazi occupation, because people struggling with invaders form liberating movements, and not opposition movements. If the so-called "democratic opposition" wants to continue to be called that, it is then expressing a recognition of the existence of the state, and it must then acknowledge that what it is doing is betrayal. If, on the other hand, it is maintaining that there is no Polish state and that there is only a substitute imposed by force, then let it stop calling itself an opposition and accept all of the consequences of a struggle.

But it is precisely at this time that the two-facedness of this formation comes to light. When it enters into collusion with external forces it absolves itself by citing the illegal character of the state, which is supposed to exempt it from a loyalty obligation. But when legal sanctions are applied to it, it calls upon the law of an opposition operating within the state constitution.

Nothing shows more clearly the Sarmatian origins of this depraved opposition than the very method of understanding the concept itself. The opposition is free to do anything against His Majesty, but His Majesty had better keep his hands off the opposition. Collusion against the throne is not reprehensible, but restriction of freedom to enter into collusion is reprehensible.

Such an interpretation of the nature of opposition is a relic of the past and does not appear in any contemporary state. A mature state partnership creates in the minds of the citizens a kind of immunological barrier which does not allow opposition to authority to become disposition to others.

Opposition of all shadings and various intensities is a feature of every complex sociopolitical structure. It may be more or less troublesome, and on balance it may turn out to be harmful or beneficial, and so long as it remains an internal phenomenon it can compete for civic rights. Disposition can only be loathsome and every socio-state healthy organism must give battle against its existence.

Disposition discredits honest opposition, it cannot be called genuine, and it implies a corrupt political behavior. Anyone who wants to maintain a believable appearance as an oppositionist must keep his distance from offers of foreign money. So long as he is not on the take he can maintain that he speaks for himself, independently. So long as he speaks independently, he can be regarded as an object in a dialogue.

Unfortunately, it is apparent even to the naked eye that they take, avidly and greedily, that they choke on the little portion of wealth allotted to them, the better goods and the better money, and that through this they feel that they are infinitely better, although after all, all they are doing is taking, taking and taking. And also because of this Poland is becoming a country which cannot be taken seriously, a country which is not even able to form a decent opposition.

In the specific circumstances in which Poland has found itself, a moral and mental level of opposition is no less important to the country than the level of the side exercising authority. But if it can be said in favor of the authority that it has subjected itself to severe self-criticism and declares its unceasing readiness to make corrections, it must be said that the opposition remains stupefied with conceit, and the heroics which it produces are supposed to make it untouchable--a taboo subject above criticism. The aura of martyred heroism, exaggerated to the limits of the absurd, does not in the least conform to the realities of the opposition, and is only a protective measure intended to ensure its moral legend.

Polish public morality does not come out well in this latest national sanctification, for a confusion of concepts has occurred which has destroyed moral order to its foundations. As a matter of fact, material motivations now patronize the so-called romantic stances, while that which is normally called positivism requires no idealistic sacrifice at all. The voice of the people has interpreted this in its own way in a terse formula that states that it is more profitable to hold with the opposition than to take up with the unrewarding authority. The moral guideposts by which our society lives have been turned around by the hand of a madman.

In the contemporary political dictionary opposition is a binding concept, therefore it must be reserved for other occasions. Many stupid mistakes have been made in the fatherland, but they cannot be corrected through means which can only lead to disintegration.

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CSO: 2600/684

GENERAL RYBA VIEWS ANTI PROFITEERING MEASURES

AU211300 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 16 Feb 84 p 2

[Interview given by Brigadier General Marian Ryba, deputy chairman of the Central Commission for Combatting Profiteering and general director in the Office of the Council of Ministers, given to PAP correspondent Wojciech Kazmierczak: "The Struggle Against Profiteering Is Unabating"--date and place not given]

[Excerpts] [Kazmierczak] Intensified antiprofiteering measures continued throughout 1983. What were the results?

[Ryba] In 1983 the sociopolitical progress which took place in the wake of the abolition of martial law did not go hand in hand with corresponding changes in the economy, especially in the flow of the necessary amounts of consumer goods, even though the flow of basic foodstuffs did improve enough to reduce the extent of rationing. There were difficulties in the supply of meat and meat products, but purchasing nonfood products--mainly household articles, furniture, automatic washing machines, refrigerators, fabrics and leather footwear--was even more difficult. The shortage of those products made it possible for profiteering to invade large areas of trade in goods.

The militia bodies bore the main burden of the struggle against profiteering. Aside from systems-type measures, the militia carried out 21 nationwide operations in 1983 to combat the crimes that were most damaging to consumers and that disorganized the flow of goods. These crimes included the buying out in socialized shops of large amounts of goods in order to resell them with profit; sales of goods directly from warehouses and wholesale depots; and concealing attractive foodstuffs and industrial goods from consumers. As a result, 10,860 crimes and over 87,000 offenses against the interests of consumers were discovered. The value of the goods concealed from consumers by shops amounted to about 140 million zlotys. The value of the goods used for profiteering and confiscated and handed over to judicial courts and lay courts amounted to 520 million zlotys.

Other bodies and institutions also took action to protect the flow of goods and consumers. For example, the State Trade Inspectorate checked on some 30,000 production, trade and service units last year. About 57 percent of them were guilty of various irregularities such as profiteering, swindling consumers and producing bad quality goods.

Over 1,500 units of the key industries and small-scale production were checked for prices, and over 50 percent of them were found guilty of erroneous price and cost calculations. Over 9,000 calculations were questioned in almost one-third of those units.

That data is bound to give rise to concern because it shows that a considerable danger of profiteering and other crimes continues to threaten the interests of consumers.

Last year the Central Commission for Combating Profiteering also dealt with problems such as regulating the sales of cars by individuals, stemming the wave of barter among production enterprises, combatting abuses in the sales of liquid fuels, and curbing speculation with books. In most cases we were able to solve those problems. For example, the team set up by the commission developed proposals for organizational and economic solutions regarding trade in cars. These solutions envisage that units of the socialized economy take over the trade in used cars. Such units are already in operation in some towns, substituting for car auctions.

Who are the profiteers? They are primarily inhabitants of towns and cities. Last year over 11,500 persons were alleged to have committed profiteering crimes. Some 40 percent of them were trade employees, 17 percent [of] all kinds of pensioners, and 13 percent those who do not work. Every 10th profiteer had been caught previously.

[Kazmierczak] The subject of internal control, which is probably the most important element of the anti-profiteering program, crops up whenever profiteering is discussed. Directives on the functioning of such control have been addressed to enterprises. Have there been any positive changes in this connection?

[Ryba] Internal control is still the weakest point of the system of control. It does not function in every enterprise and, as a rule, it functions badly in the enterprises in which the control cells are in existence. It is not unusual for some people to consciously abuse internal control in order to camouflage poor workmanship, which means cheating consumers.

[Kazmierczak] People think that the punishment meted out to profiteers is still too lenient....

[Ryba] This is what members of our commission also think, but there are indications to show that this situation will improve. We think that the ratio of the people who are sentenced to unconditional imprisonment is still too low. Nor do the courts always pronounce additional punishment--the confiscation of property, the ban on holding certain functions and on conducting certain activities, and the public promulgation of the sentences. If to this we add that over 20 percent of cases against profiteers are suspended, then the punishment in question is out of tune with public requirements and feelings.

[Kazmierczak] What are the commission's predictions for 1984? Will profiteering be reduced in the coming months?

[Ryba] There is every indication that criminal trends will continue to prevail and that we can expect the same level of profiteering as in 1983.

POLAND

SIWAK VIEWS RESPONSIBILITY OF PARTY MEMBERS

LD162252 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 16 Feb 84

[Zenon Suszycki report from Koszalin]

[Text] A speedy, just and successful response to all kinds of irregularities and defects reported by citizens is one way to gain confidence by the authorities of various levels and a particular role is to be played by members of the PZPR. This was stressed today at a plenary meeting of the voivodship party committee in Koszalin dealing with the tasks of party organizations and administration in settling letters, complaints and demands of citizens. I asked Politburo Member Albin Siwak, chairman of the Complaints Commission, to comment on it:

[Begin recording] Yes, we are talking about ourselves, party members, as the vanguard of the working class. This means that the party is the leading force that steers, controls and supervises, but at the same time beside the words "leading vanguard" there is the word "serving," and many activists forget about the word but remember the word "leading," or just take for granted that they are to manage, to lead, and do not take responsibility on their shoulders.

I would like to take the opportunity to remind all that regardless of the fact whether he is a member of this or that commission, or if he is not a member of any commission, but when he is a party member it is his sacred duty to take the responsibility for the fate of the country, although no one can carry the burden on national scale but he can do it among his close acquaintances. This transpired today from the report of the first secretary, if party member cannot see around himself the breaking of law and regulations than what sort of party member is he? [End recording]

CSO: 2600/753

POLAND

PARTY DAILY COMMENTS ON NEW SPANISH COMMUNIST PARTY

AU271342 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 23 Feb 84 p 6

[Marek Jurkowicz article: "The New Spanish Communist Party--Returning to Sources"--passages between slantlines published in boldface]

[Text] /The establishment on 15 January 1984 of the new Spanish Communist Party by the "Movement for Communist Unity," which has been developing for some 18 months now, is an important event for the Spanish workers movement./

The long dispute about the shape of the PCE has caused many of its members to leave it, but they have retained their loyalty to Marxist-Leninist ideology. They want to search for new forms of organizational activities. The establishment of the new Communist Party is a decisive step to find such forms. That decision has international implications and constitutes a precedent in the workers movement in Western Europe; discussions are also continuing in other countries about the tasks that the communist movement should set for itself in the face of the increasing dangers to the interests of the working people and world peace.

/We should look in the resolutions of the Ninth PCE Congress in April 1978 for the causes of the dispute that precipitated the establishment of the new party./ This congress made a far-reaching attempt to revise the previous theoretical principles and the practical activities of the communist movement in Western Europe on a wide scale. /This line has never been accepted by all party members. Life and especially the PCE's progressive loss of influence and members, as well as its inability to extricate itself from the blind alley of internal disputes supplied the Marxist-Leninist stream within the PCE with new arguments against the previous mode of party activities./ For many the final argument for establishment a new party was the campaign that preceded the PCE congress last December and the new victory of the old programmatic line--old because the changes adopted by the congress are not crucial.

Those who decided then to leave the PCE include Ignacio Gallego, who is the general secretary of the new Communist Party and who was a member of the PCE Executive Committee as recently as November 1983. Last December he harshly evaluated the PCE leadership. /"The new leading team has made the program of Eurocommunism so extreme,"/ he stated in a Spanish daily, /"that at present it is regarded as a negation of the need for ideology in the party and as a negation of the fact that a revolutionary situation may arise in capitalist communities.

This amounts to breaking away from Marxism, although this breaking away is covered up by such terms as revolutionary Marxism and so on."

/The new party totals 25,000 members, who have been active in various unions and associations of the autonomous Communist Party of Catalonia./ In contrast to the PCE, the new party is a party of clear principles. It harks back to the revolutionary traditions of the Spanish communists; it intends to base its program which is being developed, on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, and it seems its future in the international arena in the alliance and cooperation with the international workers movement.

By nature of things that program must be different from and in some points contrary to the policy followed by the PCE. That is why the founding congress of the new Communist Party critically evaluated the theory and practice of PCE activities with regard to the development of the situation in Spain and within the PCE. /It was not until its Ninth Congress that the PCE, under pressure from internal opposition and the people who left it, decided, among other things, to appeal for the return of those who wanted or had been forced to leave it. It also decided to try to repair its relations with the international communist movement, especially with the parties representing real socialism./

The fate of Pere Ardiaki, a prominent communist activist in Catalonia, is a typical example of those who have established the new party. Ardiaki was expelled from the Catalonian United Socialist Party, an autonomous party in the PCE, together with 11 members of the party's leadership for criticizing the PCE for being social democratic, for dissociating itself from other communist parties, and for making it possible for the rightwing to expand activities. "We must again be communists because only in this way will we be able to regain lost ground," Ardiaki said at that time. He had never tried to return to the PCE, but set up the Catalonian Communist Party, which is now part of the new Communist Party.

The new Communist Party actually has no official name. It is to be registered as the Communist Party or as the Communist Party of the Spanish Peoples. This latter name stresses that the nationalities of the Basques and Catalonians have the right to autonomy. These two nationalities have always been a strong element of the Spanish workers movement.

Although only a few weeks have elapsed since the congress of the "Movement For Communist Unity," we can already say that /the establishment of the new party is an important attempt to halt the progressive disintegration of the Spanish workers movement/--that is, the process that is weakening this movement and curbing the impact of the social leftwing on the development of Spain's social and economic situation.

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POLAND

BARCIKOWSKI COMMENTS ON ACCORD, PARTY CONTROL

AU071240 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 3 Mar 84 p 5

[*"Extensive excerpts"* of an interview given by Kazimierz Barcikowski, PZPR Polit-buro member and Central Committee secretary, to Janusz Stankiewicz published in the February 1984 issue of KONTRASTY--date and place not given]

[Excerpts] [Stankiewicz] The present party authorities have reached the half way mark in their term of office; it is time to talk about the state of the party and the condition of the state. Which of the resolutions of the Ninth Congress have we managed to implement 2 and 1/2 years after the congress, and what misfortunes and difficulties have we encountered?

[Barcikowski] Wherever the congress singled out the Central Committee or the government to perform concrete activities before a specified deadline, all the congress' decisions have been fulfilled. (...) This is the formal side of the matter. It is, of course, important, but it is not the only side when one analyzes the execution of the party congress' resolutions.

A more important matter is to what extent the spirit of the congress has been implemented. It is difficult to give a unanimous assessment on this issue. It seems to me that during the congress we were too optimistic when forecasting the future. We believed we would achieve more than we have.

The congress precept that the party is the leadership force in the state and the leading force in society has been confirmed. Life has also confirmed that we are capable of defending socialism in Poland. One can give further examples.

However, we have not fully succeeded in gaining enough social support for the party's policy in order to make martial law unnecessary. This is not, of course, just the party's affairs. The Solidarity extremists chose confrontation. To have accord, both sides must display a desire to reach it.

The problem of building national accord and of seeking various forms of it is still continuing. And reaching this accord, as practice has shown, is certainly more difficult than we thought it would be at the ninth extraordinary congress.

[Stankiewicz] What are the present difficulties and obstacles impeding the policy of accord?

[Barcikowski] The problem has many aspects, and one of them is that splits in society have deepened during the past 2 years. Polish society is clearly divided. It is utopian to believe that this fact can be sidestepped and that some spectacular occurrence may alter it. Endurance and time are needed to overcome these divisions; time is a very important category here.

The difficulties also stem from the fact that compared to the 1940's when the party was formulating a program of profound social changes, the authorities today do not have much to offer that is attractive. The deeper the divisions are today and the more strongly the authorities are opposed, the less the authorities have to offer.

For us, and for me personally, it is extremely distressing that our activities--and I am convinced these are the only activities possible--are assessed as anti-Polish. There is something very bad about the fact that there are people in Poland today who are happy that the economy is not regenerating itself at the speed with which "they," in other words the authorities, want it to. The degree of people's involvement for the sake of improving their own fortunes is not excessive either. People also often wait until "they" do something.

[Stankiewicz] As far as people in full-time employment are concerned, maybe the situation really is the way you say it is. I believe a considerable part of people's energy is used up in overcoming the difficulties of everyday life, so that there is not enough left to settle and repair things....

[Barcikowski] I would be happy if that were true. Any activity is better than mere passiveness.

[Stankiewicz] I believe that the question as to how [word indistinct] reached the situation of 13 December 1981 will continue to occupy Poles for a long time, not in order to excite oneself about the past, but in order to draw conclusions for the future. Professor Kolodziejksi, the former voivoda of Gdansk, has the following to say on this subject: "The source of the crisis in the policy of accord may be sought in the mistakes made by Solidarity and by the authorities at various levels. As far as the latter are concerned, they were not on the whole mentally and politically ready to implement accord, neither at the central level, nor at the regional and local levels....

"Some of those belonging to the apparatus of authority at that time believed that one can break that kind of accord with impunity. That was the origin of the idea that one can merely implement 'as much accord as one can afford,' which was the euphemistic way of describing the matter. I am convinced that no one was capable of putting in order and hastily restructuring the cumbersome, bureaucratic structure of the authority apparatus."

[Barcikowski] We have to ask Voivoda Kolodziejksi if the situation in Gdansk was better than in the whole of Poland. Could Gdansk have been defended without martial law? Of course, one can say that Gdansk on its own could not have done much. None of the talks that our comrades held with the Solidarity leadership in Gdansk brought any results. It was the same in other cities. Martial law could only have been avoided if both sides had wanted to avoid it.

[Stankiewicz] Voivoda Kolodziejski accuses a section of the party and of the authorities of implementing accord in a disloyal way.

[Barcikowski] Yes, but you are only quoting Kolodziejski's criticism of one side.

[Stankiewicz] The mistakes of the other side are written about every day.

[Barcikowski] Only parenthetically. Read Bakunin, and read what anarchists wrote concerning the role of the state and the methods of overthrowing it. The Solidarity extremists and the opposition hiding behind their backs followed practically everything to the letter. Read Bakunin just for the sake of interest. It is not in vain that as early as the 19th Century, Marxists pointed out that anarchism is subversion inside the workers movement.

But let us get back to the subject. I attach priority to agreement on both sides. And this was the most important and deciding factor. Did the fact that there were differing views inside the party on the subject of the governments have any influence on the course of events? It certainly did, but these differences would not have been so important if confrontational trends had not appeared on the other side. The chain of demands and postulates rose and rose until finally everyone who was concerned not only with the existence of the party, but of the state as well was involved. This concerned those who desired accord the most almost to the very end.

Of course, the authorities also made mistakes at a certain time, but the constant pressure bearing on them made the joint seeking of some kind of solutions impossible. I remember when I spoke to some Solidarity advisers before the Ninth Congress. I was offered various proposals. I said: All right, but show me at least one matter that we have managed to settle together. Were halting the fall in production, stopping the political and social demagogery, and rescuing work ethics solely the problem of the authorities? Were they not the problem of Poland and of all Poles? So there was nothing that the congress could do, especially because the chain of events was inevitably leading to martial law. One had to be totally blind not to see this.

#### Professors Expect Politicians to Solve Problems

[Stankiewicz] (...) To use Professor Szczepanski's words, why did the authorities, during the emergence from martial law, head toward greater repression, instead of toward greater social attractiveness?

[Barcikowski] You are asking me nothing but tricky questions. I respect and value professors, yet you are forcing me to polemize...I always envy professors; they have more to say, but they wait at the same time for the politicians to settle problems. Yet life always brings more complications, obstacles, and restrictions than it seems when one is wielding a pen over a piece of paper.

Getting back to the question, the dilemma facing the authorities during the emergence from martial law the way Prof Szczepanski understands it is the subject of academic thought, not political thought.

One also has to consider what else the authorities could have offered society at that time which society would have found attractive. Was there an amnesty? Yes. Was there a chance to come out of the underground? There was. Other positive examples can be given.

And another matter. Was the authorities' repressive capability really increased? I tend to think that, in fact, the interests of the state were guaranteed by ruling out all activities likely to disturb these interests and likely to disturb social calm. And let us also ask: Were these guarantees created to be used immediately or tomorrow? Or were they created as a warning and a threat against any repeated disturbance of calm in the state? After all, our intention is clear. And it is obvious that it is the latter intention that is the truth.

#### The Social Base of the Present Team Is Not Small--It Is Large

[Stankiewicz] You have often referred in your speeches, starting with the speech to mark the signing of the agreement with the strikers in Szczecin, to the state as being the manifestation of the common good of the people, to the state's power, its competence, and the threats that hang over it.

Is, in your opinion, the Polish state a stronger, more efficient, more credible partner to its allies and on the international arena now, 2 and 1/2 years after the party congress and a year after the lifting of martial law, than it was before?

[Barcikowski] Something bad has happened in our country. We as a party have forgotten that we exercise our power through institutions and state structures. Here, we constantly say the party this--the party that, but the party does not, after all, exercise its authority directly. And it is through such an "unstate-like" view of the problem that we undermine ourselves so badly.

Whenever we delve into the history of Poland or any other country, either now or when we did so in the past, then we always find one truth: The greater the prestige of the nation and the state in the eyes of its citizens and its neighbors, then the more efficient and the stronger it becomes and the greater is the control its authorities can exercise in their activities.

When considering our experiences and analyzing Polish history, we must state that the Poles lost their state because they did not really respect it. The 17th and 18th centuries constituted the era of the self-destruction of the Polish state. The Poles destroyed their state themselves. All that was then to follow was the execution of the Polish state by its neighbors, who managed to build up and maintain a powerful state system. In Poland, therefore, to make light of state affairs, to reduce the state's role in the affairs of its people is, both now and in the future, like committing a serious, unpardonable sin. On the contrary, we must work in order to make people generally aware of the fact that the interests of the people are expressed and implemented by the state.

[Stankiewicz] Is the Polish State now stronger or weaker?

[Barcikowski] First of all, we are respected more. Why? Because by using stringent measures, the state has achieved domestic peace; because while we are

working gradually and with difficulties, we are nevertheless emerging from the worst of the worries in which we found ourselves. Our allies have perceived this, just as international opinion has. Please do not confuse the press assessments that only reckon up the immediate political advantages of this situation with the opinions and assessments expressed by politicians.

[Stankiewicz] (...) What is the current government team's social and political base? On whom can it count and on whom can it rely? Is the social support it receives now greater or smaller than it was 2 years ago?

[Barcikowski] When speaking of the current government team, one must take into consideration its coalition-like nature. Perhaps it would even be worth making a certain calculation. Our party has about 2.2 million members, and this would at least double if we include their families--we should count on the fact that in every family at least one of its members is politically "disobedient." We can also add the approximately 600,000 members of the ZSL, the SD and PAX, as well as of other groups and the nonparty people who take part in the work of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth, the workers of the state administration, the armed forces and their families, and then also the members of the new trade unions who number about 3.6 million, along with the definite majority of nonparty people who frequently joined these unions in defiance of the opposition's boycott. Already, this arithmetical calculation indicates that the social base of the present government team is not only not a small one, but that it is large.

And now, let us ask the question: Are the people who found themselves outside this list by default all opponents of the authorities? Can this be the largest group of people in Poland who are declared opponents of socialism and its general principles? It appears, therefore, that the authorities have reason for hope.

[Stankiewicz] What is the extent of the support for the political opposition? How large are the social circles that refuse to cooperate with the authorities?

[Barcikowski] People's activities in the work of the opposition have decreased as time has gone by. There can, therefore, be no doubt that today support for the opposition is considerable smaller than it was 2 years ago.

However, a real problem facing us is the lack of active participation in certain social circles, mainly from the intelligentsia milieu, in the implementation of national goals. But let us consider how much these people's nonparticipation weakens the authorities, how much it weakens Poland, the nation and the Polish state.

If I had to generalize on this, I would say that social activeness is still insufficient, that there is still a considerable workforce reserve here and that there is no small possibility of accelerating the resolution of our Polish problems.

#### What Price Would We Have Paid Had There Not Been Martial Law

[Stankiewicz] Army General Jaruzelski recently spoke of a return to party and state apparatuses of phenomena such as arrogance, haughtiness, and insensitivity

to social feelings. Please note that these phenomena are returning to the party after the congress campaign and the most democratic elections in the party's entire history.

[Barcikowski] Army General Jaruzelski spoke of the occurrence of these phenomena, while you generalize them. We must treat this statement as a warning stemming from the supreme authority of the party, a warning that "the top" will no longer tolerate the kind of phenomena that brought political and moral losses in the past. However, this does not mean that these phenomena are becoming widespread.

[Stankiewicz] But why do they occur and why especially despite these warnings?

[Barcikowski] It is a result of the weakness of human nature.

[Stankiewicz] I am sure it is, but are the party's and state's control mechanisms not getting weaker at the same time?

[Barcikowski] We are familiar with the reports presented at accountability meetings, as well as at official, unofficial and friendly ones. Party criticism is not at all less stringent than it was 2 years ago. It is our wish that the opinion of the rank and file members of the party, which does not allow for these kind of phenomena, continue to be expressed. It is this opinion, along with the intervention of the cadres regarding those who violate the party statute and moral standards, that should protect us from degenerating. There can, therefore, be no question of tolerating phenomena that brought much harm to the party and society in the past.

[Stankiewicz] (...) What could reconcile Poles who are divided and at odds with one another? The future will, naturally, but what kind of a future will it be? Have we already found the political and institutional solutions to the future? Both PRON and the trade unions are supported by a minority while they are meant to be the two pillars that will support the entire construction of society's participation in public and political life.

[Barcikowski] You say that PRON and the trade unions are supported by the minority. I would put it another way; for example, in the Katowice Voivodship almost 50 percent of the trade unions are composed of workers. They are still a minority, but what about tomorrow? We are seeing a constant development of the trade union movement, one that is admittedly, gradual, but also one that is systematic, and tomorrow, this minority will be a majority--it is only a question of time.

What can unite Poles? I think that Poles should unite around the idea of Poland and for the sake of their own general interests. If individual matters are to be settled in a better, more efficient way, then so must general national matters, and they must be resolved together with the help of others at that. This is what the struggle is constantly about, the struggle to understand this dependence.

[Stankiewicz] After the many crises which the party experienced, was an answer ever found to the most fundamental of the fundamental questions--how to govern Poland? How to govern Poles?

[Barcikowski] Allright, allright, it is necessary to govern Poland and the Poles and to make sure that Poles govern themselves well.

(....) I agree with you that it is difficult to govern anywhere. However, I think that different people are either more or less receptive to the demands of the state. Let us at least look at our neighbors. I am sure that we Poles do not belong to the nations that are at their happiest when under the control of the state.

[Stankiewicz] We have not had a state of our own for long enough to get into this habit.

[Barcikowski] And we must take this into consideration. We need time and work in this matter, just as in every other, in order to strengthen the state so that the state serves the people better. There are no miraculous formulas for Poland's recovery, We can disagree on the details and the ways in which we achieve our goals, the pace of the march forward, but these are disputes that will only be worth much to the extent they take the following two factors into consideration-- time and concrete work.

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POLAND

FORMER OFFICIAL DISCUSSES POLITICAL REALITIES

Warsaw KIERUNKI in Polish No 5, 29 Jan 84 p 4

[Interview with Marian Dobrosielski, Polish deputy minister of foreign affairs from 1978-1981, member of Pugwash, by A. Castelli; conducted on the occasion of a conference of this movement in Venice at the end of August 1983; original interview published in Italian; see "Intervista a M. Dobrosielski, La Polonia dopo Yalta e Solidarnosc" in IL REGNO No 495, 5 November 1983, pp 459-462]

[Text] The following is a slightly abridged text of an interview given to the Bologna Catholic monthly IL REGNO during the Pugwash Conference held in Venice. We think that our readers will be interested in the views expressed at that time by Marian Dobrosielski, KIERUNKI collaborator, author, Marxist, philosophy professor and former deputy minister of foreign affairs. We are observing the title and subtitles used by the monthly.

[Question] Are you troubled by recent West German government declarations that the only German borders it recognizes are those of 1937?

[Answer] Yes, I am troubled, and everybody in Europe ought to be troubled, for the Germans have tended to confuse their wishes and delusions with reality and have been guilty, more than once, of acting heinously. Let us remember that most European wars were fought over territorial claims.

Postwar European boundaries were established in Potsdam and they were recognized by both German states as well as all other European states at the Helsinki conferences. Now the Bonn government is resurrecting the ghost of a Germany in 1937 boundaries on the basis of its own illusions.

I hope that the West German government will come to terms with, and ultimately recognize the territorial reality that emerged from World War II. For only that kind of realism can be a basis for peace and cooperation in Europe.

The Position of the Conference

[Question] Can NATO missiles incline Poland and Russia to agree to changes in European boundaries?

[Answer] No. But I consider the deployment of the new missiles in Europe to be a very, very dangerous fact. Their use certainly would not lead to a change in these boundaries, but instead would mean the beginning of the end of the human race.

I do not believe in limited nuclear war or in a winnable one either. In reality, using nuclear weapons now must lead to global war and planetary annihilation.

[Question] In your opinion, could certain European boundaries at least be subject to negotiated changes?

[Answer] Yes, that is possible. In the CSCE [Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe] Final Act, there is a clearly defined principle of equal sovereignty. Using solely peaceful means and in accordance with international law, the states concerned can negotiate directly with each other. Attempts to alter the Polish-German boundary would lead to war.

[Question] Do Eastern European states feel threatened by enemy Western European states?

[Answer] No. No sane person believes that there are European countries that want to start a war; not even the Germans want that.

However, the division of Europe into two opposing military blocs is deplorable. Combined with the arms race, the new missiles, and a readiness to disagree, it can set in motion a process that no one will be able to control and that will lead to war.

I do not believe there are people in Europe that want war by chance or by accident. Therefore, we do not feel that we are surrounded by enemy countries. On the other hand, we do believe that the mistaken arms race involves harmful consequences for everyone.

[Question] Turning aside from your government for a while, sir, do you think that the Polish people have good and true friends in Western parties and political circles? Has it not become fashionable to consider oneself a friend of the Polish nation?

[Answer] Yes, yes. You are right. It has become fashionable. There is also a saying in Poland that adversity shows you who your friends are. When we Poles found ourselves in economic, political and social difficulties, we heard many fine expressions of sympathy from the West, but the reality was economic sanctions and political discrimination. Western governments explained that they were acting against the Polish government and not against the Polish people. But they harmed the entire nation very much and seriously delayed our emergence from the crisis. In Poland we have learned to take note of what people and governments are doing, and not just of what they are saying. I would suggest that the expression "sympathy towards Poland" be eliminated from the political vocabulary.

I can assure you my personal experience in numerous political-diplomatic negotiations made me aware very quickly that when our Western opposite numbers started talking about love and sympathy for Poland, no concrete benefits would be forthcoming. My country does not need sympathy, just respect for its sovereignty and relations based on mutual respect and mutual benefit. At the same time, I am aware that Poland has some real friends in the West and that many Poles are better disposed towards the West than our Western friends are towards us.

[Question] What would you think about the notion that Western political circles are trying to establish some kind of superiority over the Eastern countries?

[Answer] Any kind of direct domination would be impossible, given that any sort of attempt in that direction would lead, as I have already stated, to war.

On the other hand, I have noticed that certain Western countries and governments, notably the current United States government, see in Poland and the other socialist countries a useful tool in their policy towards the Soviets.

The president of the United States talks a lot about his love for the Polish people and wishes them free, but I cannot help feeling that he would have been very happy if the Soviet Union had intervened in Poland, and that he would not have cared about the fate of 36 million Poles. However, when that did not happen, the president was angry and adopted a totally fanatical and truly unfriendly attitude towards Poland and the Poles.

[Question] Certain Westerners suggest neutralization or "Finlandization" for Eastern countries like Poland while balking at the same approach for Italy or Germany. Please comment.

[Answer] We ought to be realists. Despite Western opinion, I consider Finland's position to be very fortunate. Finland benefits from neighborly relations with the Soviet Union and various other countries with a differing political-economic system. Therefore, it is false to give a negative connotation to the term Finlandization. Poland's situation is different.

A new reality emerged in postwar Europe: the division into political-military blocs. In this situation, it would be absurd to talk about a neutral Poland without also talking about a neutral Germany, for example.

In the current situation, membership in the Warsaw Pact guarantees the security and development of Poland, and we want to be loyal and honest members. That does not preclude good relations with the West. We sought them in the past and are doing so at present in order to overcome the artificial divisions in Europe. We consider Poland as European as Germany or Italy.

### You Do Not Want To Be Attacked Again

[Answer] I reiterate that our security is guaranteed by the Warsaw Pact. If someone in Poland--even with the best intentions--advocated our leaving the Warsaw Pact, he would be acting against the vital interests of the Polish people.

[Question] What could the Eastern countries have to contribute to arms control and detente?

[Answer] As for Poland, we have done a lot. In 1957, then Foreign Minister Rapacki proposed a Central European atom-free zone; Gomulka proposed a nuclear freeze; in 1964, Poland proposed a European security conference. In my opinion, the foreign policy of Poland and other Eastern countries is directed towards disarmament and peace.

### Solidarity

[Question] Can we look forward to dialogue and unity between the Polish government and the Polish Communist Party, on the one hand, with the Solidarity movement on the other? How deep are the roots of that movement in Polish society?

[Answer] The Solidarity movement does not exist. You find only small, underground extremist groups that do not represent the interests of the workers or of the Polish people.

At first, Solidarity was an authentic and spontaneous mass movement. It spread like wildfire over the country, but it quickly came to be dominated by a group of prominent politicians that tried to divert it to their own ends. Besides, Solidarity was never a monolithic movement even when it had millions of members. In principle, the movement was marked by a negative attitude or way of thinking in that, at that time our whole society was reacting negatively, trying to reject government practices of the 1970's that often contradicted the basic principles of socialism. At first, I hoped that Solidarity might be capable of inspiring the whole society and the party towards the formulation of a new, positive socioeconomic program for building socialism correctly.

That was not the case. Solidarity degenerated slowly towards anarchy and all its attitudes and programs were negative in the sense that they only negated existing reality. Its demands were maximal, often understandably so--wage increases, price reductions, but also work-free Saturdays and reduced work hours. The main instrument of pressure was strikes for any reason at all. In 2 years, the strikes had ruined the Polish economy. I do not think that anyone today desires the rebirth of such a Solidarity movement, except, perhaps, for President Reagan and his adherents that do not understand Polish events.

[Question] Are autonomous unions arising in Poland?

[Answer] Slowly, they are. I think that our law about unions is good, although hardly anyone in the West has troubled to read it in his unique concern over the fall of Solidarity. Our union law is no worse than those in existence in many countries and, in certain instances, it is even better.

[Question] Do you think that some day the party will come to understand the good intentions of the Polish movements of these last 3 years?

[Answer] That happened long ago. PZPR congress official declarations from 1981 recognize the original enthusiasm of that labor movement, acknowledge the accuracy of many of its criticisms and outline mechanisms and institutions for the avoidance of negative and harmful practices such as those that occurred in 1980.

That is the official PZPR position. However, I feel obliged to make it clear that, in my opinion, the party and government in 1980-1981 did not make a sufficient effort to present a positive political program that might then have gained the support of society as a whole.

Let me emphasize--in keeping with the seemingly universal feeling--that the birth of Solidarity was a good thing and that many of its demands were correct. Unfortunately, demands and criticisms alone are not sufficient.

#### The Authority of the Church

[Question] Let us talk now about the Polish Catholic Church as an institution. Can one say--as some do-- that the political authority of the church is stronger than its religious or moral authority narrowly defined?

[Answer] I think that the political authority of the Catholic Church is stronger in Poland than elsewhere, and that for historical reasons. In my opinion, the church has had a retarding effect on sociopolitical progress in many countries. In Poland, on the other hand, there was a time--the period of the Polish partitions of the last century--when the interests of the nation and the Polish Church coincided. There was unity in the face of the occupying powers that, whether chiefly Orthodox or Lutheran, cared little for the Poles or the Catholic Church. The church preserved our language and our traditions and, therefore, its authority is not limited to the religious sphere, but is deeply rooted in patriotism. Hence, it is a powerful force.

[Question] Some view the policy of the pope as a clear challenge to the Eastern European political system. Assuming they are right, what changes may come about? Is there a risk involved?

[Answer] It is hard to assess long-range perspectives of papal activity. I do not want to refer to the pope's religious doctrine, considered by some to be conservative, with which assessment I agree. But that is not my business; I am not concerned with the doctrinal matters of an organization to which I do not belong. I shall limit myself to a few words about the pope's activity in the area of international affairs and the internal affairs of Poland.

First, I believe that the pope stands for the peace, disarmament and dialogue that we all need so very much. I should prefer that he took a more progressive stance in matters such as Latin America. However, in basic matters, such as war and peace, he continues the line of his predecessors, John XXIII and Paul VI.

With regard to Poland, the pope accomplished a lot during his last visit as far as increasing the moral authority of the church, on the one hand, while not undertaking initiatives aimed at sociopolitical destabilization, on the other. All Poles can accept his call to dialogue, to emphasizing the meaning of the dignity of work and to underlining Poland's role in European development. Let me repeat that the pope did not seek to destabilize the Polish system, and that is very important in today's times.

[Question] And now, how do you assess the first papal visit to Poland?

[Answer] The first papal visit in Poland... I have read what has been said about it in the West. I recall that the crowds surrounding the pope were considered to be a referendum against the Polish government. That was an incorrect assessment. The fact that a Pole had been elected pope was a source of great pride to many Poles, both believers and nonbelievers.

I do not believe that the event of the first papal visit gave birth to Solidarity. In my judgment, the germs of popular protest saw the light as far back as 1976 when people started becoming aware that economic, social and informational policies of the government were leading to fatal consequences.

In my view, the pope was more sympathetic to Solidarity than to the government, but I cannot conceive of the possibility of his having inspired or created the movement.

Cardinal Joseph Glemp: a Courageous Realist

[Question] How can one explain the fact that, after so many years of PZPR government in Poland, the Catholic Church in Poland has reemerged as a potent political reality with temporal obligations and capabilities that concern even such a person as Cardinal Glemp?

[Answer] One reason is the place gained by the church in Poland in the course of a century. (...)

Another is the fact that during the second half of the 1970's, the PZPR leadership and the government lost a great deal of their credibility and trust among the people. Solidarity fired the people's imagination; all that had the effect of strengthening the authority of the church, and not only in the moral area.

In 1981, I had a chance meeting with Cardinal Glemp at the Warsaw airport; both our planes were late. We talked at length. In my opinion, he is a person that understands quite well the interests of the Polish people, and that is, clearly, concerned about the interests of the church in Poland. He strives to act in a way that benefits the church, while not harming the state. Some priests are dissatisfied with his position, but it is a wise and courageous one.

It certainly must be hard to be the primate following such a great moral personage as was the late Cardinal Wyszynski. Yet if Cardinal Glemp follows his own lights, history will rate him very highly.

#### Crisis of Awareness

[Answer] The Polish situation is that, in some ways, our socialist training has penetrated deeply into the people, to the degree that the majority do not desire a change of system. No sober Pole wishes to return to pre-World War II conditions with millions of unemployed and illiterates.

At the same time, it is also true that the nation has become more demanding and impatient with the slow pace of social development, a pace caused by the incorrect policies, especially of the latter half of the 1970's.

The popular crisis of awareness is, in my view, greater and more difficult to resolve than the economic crisis. Popular trust in our own government has been fractured. At the same time, there is a crisis of awareness. Thus, a whole generation will probably be needed to correct matters. (...)

Let me repeat: the crisis of awareness does not involve an opposition to socialism, but rather to defects in the system. The people want a better socialism and authentic social justice and individual freedom.

All governments face that same task: to find the correct synthesis, an equilibrium between social justice and personal freedom.

In the first postwar years, we emphasized social justice, of necessity, but in Poland, you cannot forget about personal freedom for very long. Poles are exaggerated individualists.

If one emphasizes only social justice, one tends, practically, to dictatorship. If one underscores only personal freedom, as happened in the Solidarity period, one tends towards anarchy. We are seeking, then, a synthesis of both kinds of values.

Reforms, although at a snail's pace, are being carried out. They will lead to a national unification in the building of a just and fully dignified socialism, a socialism that opposes no one, but that acts for the benefit of an entire nation.

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POLAND

RESULTS OF KALISZ, PILA VOIVODSHIP REPORTS-ELECTIONS CONFERENCES

Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 31 Dec 83 pp 1, 3

[Article: "Remembering the Experiences of the Past, We Turn Toward the Future"]

[Excerpts] The reports-elections campaign of the Polish United Workers Party has entered its final, concluding phase. For several days, voivodship conferences have been taking place throughout the entire country. In Wielkopolska, conferences were held last Thursday in Kalisz and Pila. They summarized party work over the course of the last few difficult years, elected new party officials and adopted a broad range of the most pressing tasks for the near future.

The conferences were dominated by the thoughts, the suggestions and the no less important experiences amassed during the past term by all party elements, beginning with the primary level. One of the major goals was to re-order party membership, to consolidate the party and to restore its authority. This requirement was fulfilled on many planes. Current voivodship conferences, remembering the experiences of the past, turn toward the future.

The delegates, having been endowed with the vote of confidence of the member ranks, are advancing real suggestions regarding what should be done and how to avoid repeating past mistakes, to know how to fulfill the party's leading role. In this way, the delegates perceive a real opportunity for their plans to succeed, since the store of knowledge and reflection has been enriched by the wealth of experiences over the past 3 years, from the political struggle that has been waged against the enemy that has spared no methods of attack.

These first two conferences in Wielkopolska likewise show that the party is regaining its organizational and ideological effectiveness. The departure of members from the party has also slowed down; young people are being mobilized to cooperate with the party; the activism of the party rank-and-file is gradually growing. Thus, we may conclude optimistically that the party is receiving a new, revitalizing stimulus.

Reports from the Kalisz and Pila voivodship conferences are published on page 3 [Polish text].

PZPR KW [Voivodship Committee] Executive Board in Kalisz

Wladyslaw Borkiewicz, Piotr Bruch, Kazimierz Buczma, Regina Drozdz, Stefan Glowacki, Jan Janicki, Henryk Kostrzewska, Eligiusz Kowalski, Ryszard Kowalski, Stanislaw Krzywaznia, Henryk Magaj, Jerzy Mazurek, Jacek Ratajczak, Jozef Skoczek, Jan Stojecski, Henryk Szydlik, Stanislaw Winkler

KW Secretariat

Jan Janicki--first secretary; Henryk Magaj, Jerzy Mazurek, Henryk Kostrzewska, Jacek Ratajczak--secretaries

PZPR KW Executive Board in Pila

Maksymilian Bartkowiak, Stanislaw Betscher, Tadeusz Czyszkowski, Franciszek Dykrzak, Bogdan Dymarek, Tadeusz Gluczkowski, Stanislaw Hiller, Jozef Jasiak, Jan Kaczmarek, Bogdan Kopec, Zenon Kornobis, Zbigniew Kozera, Stefania Kwasniewska, Wieslaw Los, Jozef Ryszard Muszynski, Michal Niedzwiedz, Edward Stawny, Jan Snioszek, Kazimierz Wesolowski

KW Secretariat

Michal Niedzwiedz--first secretary; Stanislaw Hiller, Bogdan Kopec, Wieslaw Los, Jan Snioszek--secretaries

Kalisz Voivodship Reports-Elections Conference

With the guiding motto, "The entire party is implementing consistently the program of socialist renewal adopted at the Ninth PZPR Congress," the PZPR Voivodship Reports-Elections Conference in Kalisz deliberated on 29 December.

The conference was opened by KW first secretary Jan Janicki, who welcomed invited guests. Next, the conference deliberations were led in order by: Jan Grzesiak, Ryszard Kowalski, Wojciech Suszycki and Stanislaw Augustynski.

Comrade Jan Janicki gave the official report on behalf of the outgoing KW executive board.

Next a report on the work of the Voivodship Review Commission [WKR] was presented by its chairman, Roman Witkowski. Wladyslaw Turek reported on the work of the Voivodship Party Control Commission [WKKP].

A solemn moment of the conference was the decorating of worthy veteran of the workers movement Edmund Rabczewski from Jarocin with the Order of Commander of the Polish Rebirth.

Sincere wishes for successful deliberations were sent to the conference participants by the USSR Consulate General in Poznan and the SED District Committee in Erfurt.

During the course of deliberations, elections were held of voivodship party officials: 91 KW members, 27 candidate members, 35 WKKP members and 35 WKR members. In accordance with an order stipulating this possibility, PZPR KW first secretary was elected from among the delegates. Jan Janicki, who was nominated by the elections commission and was recommended by the PZPR KC [Central Committee] Politburo, was reelected. In a secret ballot, he received 258 of 295 possible votes.

Next a debate ensued that lasted many hours. During this debate, in which intraparty, economic and social problems were discussed, 31 speakers took the floor.

When the discussion ended, PZPR KC Politburo member, KC secretary Tadeusz Porebski took the floor (a discussion of his speech is published separately).

During the course of the conference, the first plenary meeting of the newly elected PZPR Voivodship Committee was held. An election of the PZPR KW executive board and secretariat was held at this meeting (the list of members of this organization is given on p 1 [Polish text]).

The WKR was also elected, with Kazimierz Danielczyk as chairman and the WKKP with Wladyslaw Turek reelected as chairman.

At its conclusion, the conference adopted a resolution.

Deliberations ended with the singing of the Internationale.

#### Discussion of Tadeusz Porebski's Speech

At the opening of his address, the speaker stressed that the reports-elections campaign now coming to a close attests to the growth of the maturity of party organizations that have become seasoned during the recent period in the struggle against the political opposition and have learned the need to work among the broad masses.

Now we must use our past experiences to help us consider, with deep reflection and a sense of responsibility, how and what to change in party work, in the attitudes of party members and in their primary organizations, in order to develop the most effective ways possible of rebuilding society's confidence and the support of working people.

The coming year, and surely the next few years as well will not be easy ones for party life. Hence the need to think in strategic categories that should guarantee for every party organization support in the workplace, in the place of residence and in every socioprofessional community. Consistency, resoluteness and a high degree of responsibility for the individual tasks entrusted to every PZPR member must become inseparable elements of this work. The ideological "re-arming" of the broad member masses that has been neglected in over a decade, is also very important.

In discussing the party's dialogue with society, the KC secretary pointed to the need for a continual search for planes of understanding, on whose basis it will be possible to implement jointly the tasks of the country's socialist renewal laid out in the PZPR Ninth Congress resolution. It is indispensable that the broad support of society be gained for the party's efforts and its programs. This will depend upon every party member, who will unite the party's allies through his active socioprofessional stance in his community.

The resolution of common issues also requires the constant stimulation and activation of the union movement and the civic undertakings of PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth], as well as the activism of the younger generation, especially ZSMP [Socialist Union of Polish Youth] members. The party's cadre policy, the close link between party organizations and the workforce and the constant improvement of the style of the work of the party aktiv should also serve common goals.

The approaching National Conference of Delegates should answer many questions regarding the future of the party and the country.

The speaker also addressed several specific questions brought up by those taking part in the conference discussion.

In conclusion, the KC secretary stated that every PZPR member can and ought to add his own share to the party's achievements. On behalf of the Politburo, the speaker expressed his hope to delegates, and through them to the entire Kalisz party organization, that the tasks contained in the conference program will be implemented.

#### Pila Voivodship Reports-Elections Conference

The Fifth Voivodship Reports-Elections Conference held in Pila last Thursday lasted almost 15 hours. The 249 delegates that took part represented 31,500 members of the Pila party organization. Candidate member of the Politburo, PZPR KC secretary Jan Glowczyk took part in the deliberations.

KW first secretary Michal Niedzwiedz warmly welcomed conference delegates and invited guests. Next, he presented the report of the PZPR Voivodship Committee Executive Board. The party discussion was preceded by the solemn conferring of state honors upon worthy activists and veterans of the workers movement. Soon after, the debate began. It lasted more than 13 hours, with 29 discussants taking the floor.

During the course of the deliberations, PZPR KW first secretary in Pila was elected according to a conference code of regulations adopted earlier. Michal Niedzwiedz was reelected, having received 283 of 294 valid votes. Elections were also held for the 101-member KW, the WKKP and the WKR.

During the deliberations, Jan Glowczyk, Politburo candidate member and PZPR KC secretary, took the floor. An abridged form of his address follows this article.

In the final part of the debate, delegates were presented with the results of elections to the authorities and control organs. Wojciech Wojciechowski was elected WKKP chairman and Henryk Jankowski was chosen WKR chairman. Those assembled likewise adopted a resolution outlining the directions and tasks of party work in Pila.

On Thursday also, the first plenary meeting of the KW for the new term was held. During the course of this meeting, the members of the KW Secretariat and Executive Board were elected (the list of members is given on p 1 [Polish text]).

At the end of the deliberations, the Internationale was sung.

#### Discussion of Jan Glowczyk's Address

During the course of the discussion, Jan Glowczyk, Politburo candidate member and KC secretary, took the floor. He assessed the work of the Pila voivodship party organization during the last term very highly. During that difficult period, both the aktiv and the majority of party members were put to the test. Thanks to the tremendous commitment of the aktiv, the party in Pila re-organized its ranks and took the offensive. As a result of the atmosphere that was created by the principal party aktiv in a relatively short period of time, PRON developed out of the initiative of the party. This movement finds itself in the national forefront, rightly understanding its role in the area of creating a platform of national understanding among all forces that wish to counter and battle effectively the sociopolitical and economic crisis.

Alluding to the conference discussion, the KC secretary stated that delegates understand clearly the situation in which the party finds itself and view realistically the changes that are occurring in Poland. The choices are not easy. They are dictated by the sociopolitical and economic situation. There is a crisis that must be battled. It is good that we speak of difficulties openly and honestly. This is the much needed return to reality, the coming back to earth out of the clouds of recent years. The speaker emphasized the tremendous importance of the achievements of the 40 years of the building of socialism in Poland. We must remember that after the war, we began in poverty and ruins. Much in our country, much with regard to surmounting difficulties depends upon the international situation. We must never forget the internal and external dangers. We must remember that there are forces in the world that wish to change the power structure. The administration of the United States of America resides in the frontal position here. The slogan of the anti-socialist crusade is still current. Thus, on the one hand, the ideological pressure continues; on the other hand, the military pressure still exists. The speaker devoted much attention in his address to antisocialist forces, to the work of the opposition in our country. When confrontational tactics failed, the enemy of socialism changed his front. Based upon anti-Polish and antisocialist propaganda, he attempts to renew his ties with society. He aims toward this in various ways, and above all tries to negate what was rebuilt during the last period, thanks to the party.

Next the KC secretary spoke extensively of the role of propaganda. As in the economy, in propaganda as well the slogan of the day is better quality and greater accuracy in informing society of the initiatives embarked upon by the party. The 13th PZPR KC Plenum resolution set up tasks for Polish news reporters to seek, in their daily practice, a deeper class assessment of the phenomena and processes occurring in Poland and throughout the world. These tasks are still current. The entire press must understand correctly party policy, transmitting it in a language that is more understandable to working people. Criticism is needed in party work, said Jan Glowczyk. Such criticism is not to be identified with the criticism of the press. When this instrument is used, however, it must be kept in mind that no one is to be harmed. At the conclusion of his speech, the KC secretary stated that young people are the future of the party. We must back them because the future of our country depends upon them.

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POLAND

NEW PRESS LAW DISCUSSED, EVALUATED

Parliamentary Procedure

Warsaw PRAWO I ZYCIE in Polish No 5, 4 Feb 84 p 4

[Article by Jerzy Zielinski: "Press Law Merger"]

[Text] The one who knows what happens in the countryside during the merging of grounds can imagine with ease the atmosphere of the deliberations of the Sejm commissions working on the press bill draft. The very fact that they have gathered as many as six times is significant enough.

The nut was, however, truly hard to crack, since--even ignoring the discrepancies of the interests of different circles--up to last week we had no press law in practice as such. The problems pertaining to it were regulated by rules of various standings scattered in many legal acts. For example, the responsibility of journalists was regulated by the rules of civil, penal, and labor codes and by the journalists' moral code. It is also not strange that while merging and changing a considerable part of the rules applying in this area, the legislature, instead of the usual enumeration of annulled legal acts or individual rules, decided that from the day the press law takes effect, that is, from 1 July of this year, all rules concerning problems regulated by it will lose power.

As article 1 of the bill states, the press, in keeping with the constitution of the PRL, exercises freedom of speech and print, fulfills the citizens' right to obtain information and to influence the course of public matters, and strengthens the constitutional system of the PRL. In developing these general principles, among the tasks and functions of the press were included the dissemination of information together with the expression of opinions serving the development of socialist social relations, the realization of the principle of the openness of public life and social control, the disclosure and criticism of negative phenomena of social and economic life, the conduct of intervention activity, as well as the enabling of citizens' participation in social consultations and discussions, thus insuring their participation in undertaking decisions concerning crucial problems of the country and other public matters.

The bill obligates national organs both to create conditions for the press necessary for the fulfillment of its functions and tasks, and also to make

possible for editorial staffs action on different programs, spheres of undertaken themes and the presentation of various attitudes. The obligation is also placed on organs, enterprises, and other state organizational cells, and in the area of socioeconomic activity, on social organizations and people conducting economic activity at their own risk, to share information about their activities with the press. Refusal may occur only to protect a state or official secret or a secret protected by law.

The chief editor, however, is authorized to demand a refusal in writing, which must be delivered within 3 days and ought to include, among other things, a statement of the reasons for such a decision. It is worth emphasizing the fact that a refusal or nonobservance of formal requirements or inactivity may be brought before the Chief Administrative Court. This does not apply to organs of state leadership and administration of justice, but mostly to administration.

The duty of furnishing the press information does not apply to citizens for whom the bill leaves this question to their own decision, noting that no one can be exposed to harm or reproach as a result of giving the press information as long as one is working within the bounds allowed by law.

Guaranteeing the press the right to the presentation and criticism of all negative phenomena within the boundaries defined by law and the rules of social coexistence also requires emphasis. The legislature stipulated in this that its realization ought to tend toward a true presentation of the phenomena discussed, and the press ought to be directed by the interests of society and the socialist state.

The rule obligating state organs, enterprises, and other state organizational cells together with cooperative organizations, and in the area of public activity also trade unions, self-governing organizations and other cooperative organizations, to give answers to criticism directed to them after no more than 1 month deserves special attention. From editorial practice, however, it is possible to give quite a few examples where, after publishing material critical of the activity of a given institution, silence falls, and this even after "being called to the blackboard." Often the only reaction to press criticism is, in fact, a lack of reaction.

Thus, in short, appear the rules of the press law. The rest of the norms included in this law are clearly divided into two groups: those applying to journalists and to publishing activities. Let us begin with the former.

The whole second chapter is devoted to the rights and duties of journalists, although if you take into consideration its contents, the words included in the title should be in reverse order. In any case, the legislature stated that the task of the journalist is to serve society and the state, and his duty to act in keeping with professional ethics and the rules of social coexistence within the bounds defined by the press laws. Not following the general program line of the editorial office is treated as a violation of the employee's duty. Besides this, the journalist is obligated to maintain special accuracy and honesty in collecting and using news material as well as protecting the personal belongings and interests of informants acting in good faith and people who, guided by the common good, show him trust.

Article 13 addresses primarily court reporters. It prohibits expressing opinions in the press about decisions in legal proceedings before the giving of a judgment in the first instance. Besides this, it forbids publishing in the press personal data or descriptions of a person against whom preparatory or legal proceedings are being conducted unless this is allowed by the public prosecutor or the court in consideration of important social interest. It will not be possible, however, to give data about or take pictures of witnesses or those harmed or victimized unless they give their consent.

A series of rules stating that the publication and dissemination in other manners of information transcribed with the help of sound and visual recordings require the consent of the people giving the information is directed against the practice of some television and radio reporters. Thus, the first words of the reporter ought to be a question about the consent of a given person.

All journalists, however, are affected by the rule which requires, at the demand of the person giving information, the presentation of an exactly quoted statement for authorization, unless it was previously published. Besides this exception, no one is able to make the giving of information contingent on later perusal or adjustment of the text of the journalist's statement. Up to now, for example, the NIK [Supreme Chamber of Control] has agreed to render its material accessible under the condition of familiarizing oneself with articles before publication, while even the prosecutor general and the MSW [Ministry of Internal Affairs] do not practice this.

Essential from the point of view of the citizen is also the rule forbidding, without the consent of interested parties, the publication of information and data concerning private spheres of life, unless the defense of a socially legitimate interest requires it or it is directly tied to public activity of a given person.

The rule of anonymity, which up to now has resulted from authors' rights, is retained, and consists of the duty of the journalist to treat as confidential data enabling the identification of the author of a publication or letter as well as the protection of the source of information, that is, the people who gave it if they stipulate for themselves the confidentiality of the data. All information, the disclosure of which would violate the right of the protected interests of third persons, is also treated as a professional secret.

Quite a bit of space was devoted by the legislature to matters connected with corrections and replies, which obligates the chief editor to publish factual corrections of untrue or imprecise information and give factual answers to statements threatening personal well-being. The deadline for the publication of corrections or answers is quite short; for example, in a newspaper it amounts to 7 days from the date of reception, and it should be published in the same section in equivalent typeface and under a clear title.

Other conditions specified in the law awaken doubts about how they will be realized in practice. As it is, the text of a correction or explanation may be two times the size of the fragment of the material which it concerns, and without the consent of the proposer one is not allowed to use a shortened version

or make other changes which would weaken its meaning or distort the intention of the author of the correction. What will happen if a 12-page report turns out, according to an interested person, to be wholly or partially not quite precise?

The bill foresees the creation of a Press Council acting initially as an opinion- and motion-proposing organ. It would include from 45 to 60 members called together by the president of the Council of Ministers for 3 years. One-third of the members will be appointed from among candidates presented by journalists' organizations, one-third from among candidates elected by publishers, and the rest from among representatives of organs of state administration, scientific and artistic circles, and social and political organizations.

The press law applies, however, not only to journalists and their rights and duties; it also regulates matters connected with publishing activities. It states that a publisher may be a legal person or a physical or other organizational cell, although it does not have legal status. In particular, a publisher may be an organ or state enterprise, a political organization, a trade union, a cooperative organization, a self-governing or other social organization or a church or other denominational union.

If someone wants to begin to publish books or a newspaper, he must get permission from the Main Office of the Control of Publishing and Public Performances [GUKPiW]. This proposal ought to show, among other things, the intended means of supplying paper and the possibilities of creation with the help of print or other techniques. The bill foresees that the person governing the publication ought to be a Polish citizen, although it also creates the possibility of evading this condition in certain cases. It is worth adding that the physical person soliciting permission for publishing activity must also present the opinion of the interested governor, justifying the need for initiating a private publishing enterprise.

When publishing a newspaper or magazine, independently of the permission mentioned above, other permission must be acquired from GUKPiW. Refusal to allow their publication will take place if their dispensing of information would violate the law or the right of protection of the name of a title already existing. Besides this, GUKPiW may refuse permission if the potential publisher of the newspaper or magazine does not show the social need for the existence of the new title and especially if its program line or range of topics would be concurrent with already existing publications as well as if the proposer does not show a source of paper supply and printing means.

The law also foresees the possibility of the withdrawal of previously granted permission in the case of systematic or glaring violation in the press of its rules or other laws, as well as for transgression of the limits of the permission given.

As far as the undertaking of services in the areas of small-scale printing covering all sorts of copying, including also photocopying is concerned, the proper permission is given by the minister of culture and art.

The press law also includes rules concerning criminal sanctions, among other things, for impeding or repressing press criticism.

The law also widens the scope of the jurisdiction of the Chief Administrative Court, where it will be possible to appeal decisions concerning press matters.

Among the many opinions about the draft press law, our voice was not lacking. We have raised this theme many times. Because the final form of the law departs to a considerable degree from the draft, we think that the presentation of its basic solutions, of course considerably abridged, is advisable.

Together with the laws concerning the control of publications and public performances and concerning state and professional secrets, this act sets a basis for publishing-press activity. Amendments to authors' rights are still lacking to make this complete, and for this it will probably be necessary to wait.

#### Law Closes Legal Gaps

Warsaw TYGODNIK DEMOKRATYCZNY in Polish No 7, 12 Feb 84 p 7

[Article by Tomasz Kuczynski: "Does It Fulfill the Hopes?"]

[Text] For 40 years the press has functioned in People's Poland without a law concerning press rights, without legal norms concerning the highest power next to the Constitution. For the first time since 1919, this law has become a topic of Sejm deliberations. Up to now the obligatory rules were based on a decree 1938 of the Republic president and several other post-war normalization acts of higher and lower orders. These rules by and large were obsolete and had become outdated. The new press law, then, does away with the existing legal gap in this area.

The press law is a legal act having a political character. It ought to regulate, then, the area of legal relationships between the state leadership, the press, and the average citizen. It needs to serve the free, honest, and universal flow of information and opinion, to favor the openness of political and socioeconomic life, to realize one form of social control over the activity of institutions serving the common good, to contribute to the progress of science and culture, and finally to include the necessary guarantees for the proper functioning of the press and journalism, through assuring press-information organs wide access to sources of information, respecting individual rights, both physical and legal, in press publications, maintaining the protection of the interests of the state, citizens, and institutions in the area of state secrets and the like.

Will it really be like that? Will the postulates of the journalists' community and the hopes of society for quick, objective, inviting, and precise information become fulfilled? Will the accusations that the press lies end?

The law alone for sure will not accomplish everything. This will depend on the particular political situation of the country, the awareness of society, the state of the economy and even the state of international relations. Finally, this will depend on the journalists and leaders themselves.

The question is only: Why was this act of fundamental importance for the functioning of the state worked out so late?

According to Assistant Professor Bogdan Michalski, an outstanding specialist in press law who participated in the work on the draft law on behalf of the Main Administration of the SDPRL [Association of Journalists of the Polish People's Republic], "The press law existed on the margin of interest. The reason for this was quite simple: there was no pressure group which was able to demand this and very many felt that it was perfectly possible to get by without this law."

It is well, then, that the bill exists and that it made it to the Sejm. It is true that it does not exhaustively regulate concerns connected with the press problem in all aspects, but at least it removes the existing neglect in this area. Jan Brodzki has already paid attention to this in the draft law (PRASA POLSKA No 1, January 1983), stating among other things that "the only logical legislative package would be a package consisting of the following collected group of acts:

1. laws concerning the journalists' trade,
2. laws concerning press rights,
3. laws concerning publication controls,
4. laws concerning authors' rights,
5. the normative act regulating the conditions of work and salaries of journalists."

"The draft press law," Jan Brodzki writes further, "endeavors, however, to unite matters which do not always fit together: rules for the realization of the journalists' trade, some regulations in the area of the organization of work, the organization of publishing, printing and control activity, legal responsibilities, and the like."

The Sejm, by passing the bill concerning the control of publishing and public performances, obligated the government to prepare legal acts connected with the matter, unfortunately with the exception of a law concerning the journalists' trade, which will be fought for by the journalists' community. At any rate, the new press law is too little.

It is also necessary to remember that the passage of a press bill is attended by the necessity of introducing changes in the penal and civil codes and the publication of executive decrees. And here follows the consideration, applying in particular to the executive rules which will remain after the period of the action of the parliament, that they should not nullify or pervert the intentions of the law.

The bill concerning the press law passed on 26 January of this year by the Sejm, which is to come into effect on 1 July of this year, assures journalists the right to obtain information. Articles 4 and 5 of the bill define these rules precisely. It is stated in these articles, among other things, that no one can be placed at risk of harm or blame for giving information to the press if one acted within the bounds permitted by law. The significance of these rules is stressed by paragraph 3 of article 11, which says: "The directors of organizational cells are obligated to enable journalists to establish contact with workers and freely collect from them information and opinions."

Each state employee, then, has the right to give information to a journalist within the bounds defined by rules concerning secrets protected by the bill or concerning the protection of individual rights. The duty for giving the press information was guaranteed, and this should be particularly stressed, by the establishment of penal and administrative sanctions for the evasion of this obligation.

Assistant Professor Bogdan Michalski brings attention to those rules of the bill which have considerable meaning concerning access to information by stating, among other things, that "not everyone, however, is obligated to give journalists information. Those people obligated are enumerated in article 4 of the press law, and they take responsibility in the case when the information is not given. An average citizen is not bound by this obligation. A citizen may give information, and this is guaranteed, but he does not have to. The same applies, for example, to the church or a political party. It is left to their own free discretion. This rule testifies to the democratic intentions of the legislature not to interfere too deeply where this might develop social tensions."

The possibility of gaining access to information was severely limited. Quite often taboo topics appeared, fixed at high state levels or from above by political, union, economic, or territorial agreements. This suppression of information and criticism was caused precisely by a lack of trust of the press by the society.

Perhaps now this will be better. But again a question comes to mind: What is the relation of the right to obtain information to the activity of press spokesmen? What relation will these legal assertions have to the internal administration and memoies of enterprises concerning the forbidding of conversations or information? After all, it is known from the beginning that a press spokesman will not tell all. Things will always be found thrown into the "kettle" which are connected with state or military or better still, economic secrets (the competition does not sleep!), even if this is not justified. And memoies? Often a director or manager of an enterprise will imagine that he is a "czar and a god" and that only he can answer a journalist's questions. It will be difficult to break this stereotype.

The bill also defines the right to criticize. Through its institutionalization it gains particular legal protection. One will not be able, then, to hinder the collecting of critical materials or to silence criticism. In article 34 it is stated: "Whoever uses force or illegal threats with the purpose of forcing a journalist to publish press material or to relinquish press intervention

will be subject to 3 years' imprisonment." This is tied to the right to corrections and replies, because according to the bill at the suggestion of an interested person, a physical, legal, or other organizational cell, the chief editor of the concerned newspaper or magazine is obligated to publish without charge an objective and fact-based correction of the untrue or imprecise information, a factual reply to a statement threatening the common good. Evasion of this obligation makes one subject to a fine. This guarantees the legal safety of individuals and institutions that give the press information and insures against its misuse.

In writing about the bill, it is difficult not to mention the rules imposed on journalists defining their rights and obligations. They emphasize, among other things, that a journalist has the obligation to act according to professional ethics, which are defined in the journalists' moral code and rules of social coexistence, that he ought to collect with particular accuracy press materials and care about keeping in secret all information, the disclosing of which would violate the interests of people and institutions protected by law. It is necessary also to remember the rule on the necessity of acquiring authorization for statements given to the journalist, if their author so stipulates.

Extremely important for the journalists' activity is the rule guaranteeing the right to professional secrets and in particular the possibility of nondisclosure of information obtained in connection with the fulfillment of their function, in certain cases even before prosecuting organs and the court. The journalist is released from the duty to keep a secret by only one set of circumstances, foreseen in article 254 of the penal code, i.e., when he deals with the worst crimes, for example, murder.

Generally, the bill introduces wider protection for the journalists' trade than the rules applying up to this time. The bill seems to be liberal in its legal solutions. It outstrips many times over the solutions adopted in other socialist countries. Time and practice will show its shortcomings and merits.

#### Effect on Journalists

Warsaw PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY in Polish No 12, Feb 84 p 8

[Interview with Professor Andrzej Kopff, prorector of Jagiellonian University, by Leszek Konarski; date and place not specified]

[Question] In your estimation, does this new bill facilitate the work of journalists or make it more difficult?

[Answer] I think that the collection of information will be easier. The rules in this area are clear enough. They command all state organs, institutions and enterprises, cooperatives and private groups to give information on the topic of their activity, and a refusal may occur only with regard to the protection of state and professional secrets. In the case of a refusal to provide information, the chief editor has the right to question in writing the motive for this decision, and the answer ought to be given within 3 days. The reasons

given in the written statement may be appealed to the Chief Administrative Court by the editorial office. A request for reasons and legal action does not apply, however, to organs of state leadership.

[Question] What would happen, then, if the mayor of a city refused a request to reveal, for example, how many food stores are in his territory?

[Answer] I think that it would be necessary to wait for an executive decree concerning press accessibility to information from state leadership organs. This task will most probably be entrusted to press spokesmen.

[Question] Surely every gmina chief will not have his own Urban?

[Answer] It is difficult for me to say what this order will look like.

[Question] And what will happen if a journalist bypasses a press spokesman or mayor of a city and goes to a low-level municipal worker?

[Answer] In keeping with the bill each citizen, and thus each worker as well, has the right to give information without being exposed to whatever consequences. The condition, however, is that he speaks in his own name and does not violate state or professional secrets. Article 5 of the proposal reads: "Each citizen in keeping with the rule of freedom of speech and the right to criticism may give the press information," and article 2: "No one can be exposed to harm or blame as a result of giving the press information if he acted within the bounds allowed by law."

Likewise, the management of a plant or institution cannot hinder a journalist in reaching a low-level worker. Article 11, passage 3 says: "The managers of organizational cells are obligated to enable a journalist to make contact with workers and freely to gather from among them information and opinions." If the worker says: "I think...," "In my opinion..." everything is in order. He has the right to express himself critically about his plant, about production or investments; he does not have the right, however, to speak on behalf of his plant because for that, after all, there are his superiors.

[Question] The director may meet the obligation of a paragraph of the bill by telling the journalist about many things that have nothing to do with the truth. We know, after all, how in the 1970's the press uncritically transmitted information not corresponding with the truth in many areas of our lives. What then?

[Answer] The bill does not remove the journalist's right to verify each piece of information. If the journalist did not have such a right, or even duty, he would not fulfill the fundamental task of the factual informing of the society; moreover, he would not be acting in accordance with professional ethics. The journalist will have, then, the further right to express his own view on the matter. Let us assume that the director of a factory says something very bad about a worker subordinate to him. The journalist must converse with two or three people in order to assure himself that such an opinion is proper because it may strike at the well-being of this worker. The verification of information is, then, a basic duty of the journalist.

[Question] In article 41 we read that it is not a violation of the law by a journalist "to publish true and factual reports from open meetings of the Sejm and people's councils and their organs." Is the journalist, then, now able to comment on Sejm deliberations or sessions of gmina people's councils?

[Answer] The journalist is guaranteed in the bill the right to express an opinion, and thus he can do so. He is not free, however, to change facts from these meetings, to disinform.

[Question] To what extent can a journalist express his own opinion and to what extent must it be in keeping with the position of his editorial office and publisher? I am citing here article 10 paragraph 2: "The journalist has, due to the nature of his work, the obligation to realize the general program line, which was established by the founding organ of the editorial office in which he is employed. The activity of a journalist which is inconsistent with this line becomes a violation of the employee's duties." Why does the journalist have to realize the line of the publication and not his own editorial office?

[Answer] This rule is in fact unhappily formulated. It is understood that the journalist realizes the policy of the editorial office, and it cannot be expected that in TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY articles with atheistic content would appear, or in TRYBUNA LUDU articles with religious content. The publisher's notion is, however, too wide when, for example, in our country we have the Prasa-Ksiazka-Ruch Worker's Cooperative Publishing House, within the frame of which a few hundred editorial offices work. If all these papers realized a uniform publishing decision, there would not be any differentiation among the titles. Papers of various profiles must exist because otherwise the press would be boring. I suppose that the contents of this article are due to fear of the likely violation of systematic rules. But, after all, these fundamental rules are written in the Constitution, and other lines of conduct would not be in keeping with this document.

[Question] The bill is finally to normalize the problem of corrections.

[Answer] Undoubtedly, giving the right of corrections is a big step forward. Personally, I think that a no less important achievement is the right to reply, although it is a pity that it was very restricted and applies only in the case of violation of an individual's rights. If someone does not feel directly hurt by the contents of the publication, he will not be able to use this right. The reply ought to apply also when someone occupies another position in a given matter. Of course, it applies only to a person directly connected with the contents of the publication. The reply would then be an element in the fuller informing of society. In the bill, the right to reply was interpreted too narrowly.

[Question] According to the new bill, a journalist will be subject to prosecution for the violation of individual rights in a press publication. If it should occur that he loses the trial and is ordered to pay damages, will he pay alone or will the editorial office also?

[Answer] The defendant pays, and the defendant may be either the journalist or the chief editor or the publisher.

[Question] As a result of article 56, all papers in Poland must obtain a renewed registration from the Main Office for the Control of Publishing and Public Performances, where they must verify the agreement of their activity with the statute of the publisher, and that they have sources of paper and printing equipment. How is it possible to once again register a paper which, for example, has been issued for 30 years?

[Answer] I also do not understand this article. The rule about registration should apply to papers which appear after the introduction of this bill. However, if for years someone has been putting out a paper, it means they have paper and a printing house. It is enough, then, for the chief editors of these papers to confirm their desire for further publication without the need of enumerating the circumstances which are talked about in article 19 of the bill.

[Question] What hopes do you tie to the new bill? Will the Polish press be better?

[Answer] I would like it to be more interesting. The bill provides the possibility of using the right to information, allows for wider access to the printed page for people not connected professionally with the press, and approaches the widely understood right to reply. The condition for an enlivened press is also the differentiated profile of published papers. If the editorial office does not have certain freedom here, and everything depends on the publisher, the individual titles will have little attraction for the reader.

[Interviewer] Let us wait then and we will see. Thank you for these remarks.

12432  
CSO: 2600/668

POLAND

CHURCH CONSTRUCTION PROBLEMS DISCUSSED

Katowice GOSC NIEDZIELNY in Polish No 5, 29 Jan 84 pp 4, 5, 7

Interview with the Rev Eugeniusz Marcisz, pastor of St Florian's parish in Chorzow, by Franciszek Szpon; date and place not specified

Text A church--a visible building--is a specific symbol of the church that is perceived as a community of people united in the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit. Just as the foundations and walls of a sanctuary are built of stones, so too the church, the perfect sanctuary of the New Testament, is built by Christ from stones, living stones. The indispensability of churches for a religious person is obvious. It is an indispensability that outweighs all other worldly needs. The faithful gather in church for common prayer. The most Holy Sacrament of the Eucharist can be preserved only within the walls of a sanctuary. On 22 June 1983 at the consecration of St Maximilian's Church in Mistrzejowice, John Paul II said, "What is this sanctuary that we are dedicating and consecrating today? It is an area, a sacred area in which the declaration of Simon Peter, which has been repeated by thousands of lips and hearts, echoes increasingly." And this declaration, a reply to Christ's question: "Who do people think the Son of God is?", was: "You are the Messiah...the Christ...the Son of the living God."

Question It is almost certain that every priest in Katowice Diocese is participating or will participate in parish building projects either as a pastor, that is, as the primary organizer of the activity, or as a vicar. In what kind of communities did you gain your building experience?

Answer I built my first church in the village of Bojszowy Nowe during the 1975-1980 period. One-half of this 5-year period was taken up with resolving all kinds of preliminary formalities needed to start building. In characterizing this community, it could be described as a village that is on the wane, fading in the rural agricultural past of our diocese. Bojszowy Nowe is located in Ziemia Pszczynska, which continues to be an agricultural region, and the people living there exhibit all the positive characteristics of rural people. Rural diligence and attachment to the church are typical of that community.

Question That was your initial experience. Did you take on that work as a pastor?

Answer No. I was formally a vicar in Bojszowy Stare Parish, which encompassed villages 3, 5 and 8 km from the church, and in which people from the most distant regions had to walk most of the way because there was and still is no public transportation. Thus the need arose to build a church, a need that was expressed for a long time by the faithful living in those distant regions. And I, who was sent to Bojszowe Stare, was ordered from the start to undertake the project in Bojszowy Nowe.

Question Where did you live during that time? After all, there was no parish at the building site.

Answer Two weeks after arriving at the new parish, I started living among the people building the church. During that entire 5-year period I lived with people who relinquished parts of their homes for my use. I was housed and fed by the people for free.

Question Then you went to the city.

Answer Yes. After the Bojszowy Nowe Church was dedicated, the bishop sent me to St Florian's Parish in Chorzow, where the characteristics are entirely different. It is a decisively urban parish with about 15,000 faithful, most of whom are working-class people. About 80 percent are miners or mill workers [---] Article 2, point 5 of the law on controlling publications and public performances of 31 July 1981 (DZIENNIK USTAW No 20, Item 99].

Question But a church was already there. What other building needs arose?

Answer The church was built not too long ago--about 20 years or so, but it was located unknowingly (or perhaps knowingly?) over a syncline that had no outlet, a result of coal mining operations. Thus from the very beginning the church was subject to flooding. After heavy rains the crypt would be covered with as much as 80 cm of water, which undermined the foundations. Therefore, the most urgent need was to prevent further damage to the church. The construction of a religious instructions building was another urgent task I had to undertake. In this parish we must teach religion to about 1,500 children and 600 youths. For this purpose we only had three halls which literally shook under the pressure of so many students.

Question Thus you organized building projects in two entirely different communities, a rural one and an urban one. Could you discuss the similarities and differences in these communities concerning the decision to build and concerning the building process?

Answer Of course there are more differences, and these could be understood best by characterizing each community. The differences have their positive as well as negative aspects. A rural community decides to build a sanctuary based on a need that is much more extensive. Often it is a need rooted in decades of demonstrations. In the rural areas, one must really wait for a church; resources to build a church are saved for many years. When I

arrived in Bojszowy Nowe, six farmers offered me land immediately on which to build a church. They told me that they and at times even their fathers set aside land several decades ago for this purpose. In addition, the rural areas have a knack for organization and work. I do not mean at all to imply by this that workers do not want to work. But in Bojszowy Nowe, once the work schedule was established, the time schedule of material and individual tasks was always maintained. The entire village complied with the schedule to the very end, even during the natural periods of abundant work in the fields. I could emphasize this by saying that people in the rural areas simply know "which end of the shovel to grab." The material sacrifices of the rural community should also be emphasized, not in order to contrast it to the city, but to emphasize that rural parishes are smaller and material costs (as well as labor costs) are distributed over a much smaller number of families. I know that during that long building period those residents of Bojszowy Nowe who had incomes from their farms as well as income from outside work (the so-called worker-peasants) gave a greater portion of their wages toward the construction of the church. But I also am aware of the rural area's negative features. The great material sacrifices, willingness and ability to work in the rural areas are in a certain sense self-seeking. At times the manifested sacrifices are rooted in ambition. People want to show off, want their offering to be seen and praised publicly.

Building in an urban area also has its positive aspects. First, and this is somewhat in contrast to a rural area, a greater number of people give material aid for this purpose. In addition, it is easier in an urban area to obtain different kinds of professionals who have the specialized know-how and experience in construction work. Finally, it is easier in the city to hire specialized firms and enterprises, and it also is easier to conduct various types of official business. All of this is of practical significance. There also are negative aspects. First of all, and perhaps this is inconsistent with what I just said, a church builder in an urban parish theoretically has a greater selection and possibility of obtaining people, including specialists, to build a church, but it also is somewhat more difficult to get people to work. In the city one hears more often: "If you please, Reverend, my job is so hard that after returning home after 8 hours of work I am truly too tired." And I believe him. He who has not experienced it does not know how hard a miner or mill worker must work. Thus one must get these people somehow, but if it does work out--and most often it does--they are faithful to the end, ready to make sacrifices to build. That which I am saying is also related to the general statement that urban parishes are prepared to bear great material sacrifices for a new church, but city people are not as interested as country people in building; they do not feel as strongly about the need to work personally on the church itself. This observation is based on the fact that urban parishes in general exhibit a weaker sense of spiritual community and unity to realize common projects.

Question I do not imagine that you obtained the knowledge needed to manage church construction activities at the seminary. Thus my question: How did you learn about the legal and building regulations and all else without which it would be impossible to build anything at all?

Answer Above all, it is the policy of our diocesan curia to entrust the building of churches or other parish buildings to those priests who, for example, are graduates of construction technology schools or who have obtained experience in this field somehow or another before they became priests. There also are priests who have obtained engineering diplomas earlier. But this is a recent phenomenon. Earlier such priests were few, and in addition they generally were not permitted to build churches. Therefore, in the beginning years any kind of experience was important, even such experience as I obtained when I was helping my colleague, who also built churches, in his pastoral work. From him I learned a little about the problems he had to solve. This turned out to be very useful to me. And when I was assigned the task to build the Bojszowy Nowe Church I began by thoroughly studying the applicable regulations, and I also consulted priests that I know who had experiences in this area. The special publication, a compendium of that era, that was issued 2 years ago is proof that building a church requires a whole area of special knowledge and that it is worthwhile to collect this knowledge systematically. Church architects and designers also provide invaluable help during specific construction stages.

Question Where did you manage to find the time? After all, the problems associated with building take up much time, and the fear arises that this would effect the performance of pastoral duties unfavorably.

Answer As I understand it, the ordinary bishop has always sent an additional priest to those priests who were building and who were alone in a parish in order to help them in their pastoral duties and even in their building projects. It would be a serious sin to ignore pastoral work in favor of building work; obviously, this would place a question mark on the purpose of building a church. I believe that it would be unthinkable to ignore pastoral work. In reality, great spiritual work is also created in a parish building a church.

Question The significant impoverishment of our society is a fact. I would like to know to what extent this affects church offerings and church building projects. After all, the church exists on the offerings of the faithful...

Answer True. Church building is not subsidized by the state. The only relief is that a pastor building a sanctuary does not have to pay an income tax. But building costs come out of the pockets of the people, pockets that are increasingly empty over the past several years. Despite this, offerings to build sanctuaries and other parish buildings are not diminishing. On the one hand this is an affirmation of the great need in this area, and on the other hand it is an affirmation of the extensive religiosity of Poles. These sacrifices--as any priest-builder can tell you--are often of heroic proportions. Today people have little but give much to the church because it is not a building for the priest or the bishop; instead it is a building for them, for their meetings with God, for hope, and it is the only refuge in these difficult times.

Question Are the parishes building churches materially self-sufficient in this area?

Answer Probably not right now, but 10 years ago I knew of many parishes that built sanctuaries exclusively with their own resources. This is determined above all by the incredible increase in the prices of building material and services. Thus it can be said that churches are now being built with the aid of many helping parishes. I know from my own experience that whenever I announce in our parish a collection for the building of a church in another parish, the offerings exceed the regular collection needs of the parish. This is a beautiful affirmation of the sense of community and responsibility for others outside our own parish.

Question Building during a crisis period affects the quality and form of a building. In their designs, how do architects take the realities of the times into account? In general, how does collaboration between the architect and the pastor, who is the one person representing the investors, proceed?

Answer One must start with the statement that a church is a House of God, a sacred building. That which serves God cannot be something ordinary, average. Because of this, many problems arise. How can we build beautiful and economical structures in today's difficult times? Above all, the architect--the project designer--must settle this question. We know that an architect designing a sanctuary is faced with a once-in-a-lifetime opportunity in that his work can be the crowning professional achievement of his career because of its uniqueness, and thanks to him it will last tens and even hundreds of years. But in creating a design, there is a natural desire to remove all constraints, a desire for complete freedom to realize one's ideas, talent and imagination. At the same time, however, these desires cannot be realized when one considers our realities. Our modest material possibilities stand in the way, which make it impossible to realize one design or another, for example, material ones, that heighten the esthetics and beauty of a building. Thus it can be said that even in such a great and ambitious work as designing a church an architect unfortunately does not have complete freedom of creative action. We--that is, the builders of churches--try to impose as few constraints as possible on the architects. But what is probably more important is that the architects themselves design a sanctuary that takes into account a parish's resources, and that they make a great effort to make the sanctuary as beautiful as possible. They deserve praise in that they are realists, they knowingly relinquish and lament somewhat their very beautiful architectural ideas to realize the building project. It is important to remember this when one hears about the lameness of modern sacred architecture. It should be evident that in many cases the final configuration of a new sanctuary is the result of a compromise between what the architect wanted to do and could do and what the parish could afford. We should always remember that many churches are being built because they are needed and because people are waiting for them. Such is the nature of our times. Therefore, can it be said that we are building only one-half as many churches but that they are imposing and rich? I believe that this dilemma will not be categorically resolved. We are forced to make a reasonable compromise to which the architects must contribute.

Question In conclusion, I would like to bring up what is probably the most important problem: the building of a church as a great opportunity to regenerate a feeling of parish community. After the building is completed, what remains of this feeling?

Answer It is true. In parishes that have satisfied their building needs long ago the sense of community as a rule depends on the weekly meetings at church, and at times this is the only contact people have with one another. However, parishioners get to know one another when they build. This is especially so in the newer communities where people get to know one another when building a church, people who otherwise know each other only through the walls or on the stairways of their large apartment blocks. It is almost a sure thing that the more or less large groups of people who are personally building a sanctuary will become the embryo for renewing the parish. Often the groups initiate various pastoral activities as well as other activities. These people stand out in their environment. There is one more important thing: the physical labor expended in constructing a church brings people together and at the same time ennobles them. People's eyes are opened to the fact that work can be organized sensibly, that it can be done reliably and peacefully, that waste is not unavoidable, and finally that physical work does not have to occur in an atmosphere that degrades a man's self-esteem; on the contrary, this self-esteem can be elevated and strengthened. All of this is simply the prime-quality fruits of autonomous ministry through building a church, a ministry without the participation of a priest.

11899  
CSO: 2600/669

POLAND

GLEMP VIEWS SOLIDARITY

PY221537 Madrid EFE in Spanish 0006 GMT 22 Feb 84

[Text] Brasilia, 21 Feb (EFE)--Today Polish Primate Cardinal Josef Glemp said in this capital that Solidarity lost its meaning when it went underground, thus tacitly recognizing that the Catholic Church officially no longer backs Solidarity.

Glemp said that before Solidarity was proscribed in October 1982, ecclesiastical officials supported it because "it defended principles which agreed with the social doctrines of the church."

"The Solidarity now in existence has moved a great deal away from its principles" said the Polish primate after a meeting with Brazilian President General Joao Figueiredo.

Primate Glemp said that he opposes the participation of the church in politics and that his opinion about Solidarity was not "a political assessment" of the issue but "a verification of facts."

The Cardinal said: "Officially Solidarity no longer exists. The church is only trying to help Solidarity's imprisoned members, regretting their situation. Solidarity only exists underground."

Upon his arrival in Brasilia this morning, Glemp admitted that the Polish Catholic Church had to intervene "to calm political agitation" in the Warsaw suburb of Ursus where "groups of agitators infiltrated Solidarity with destructive aims, thus creating disorder."

Glemp justified the transfer of Father Mieczyslaw Nowak to a parish in another part of the country. This opposition priest, Solidarity's "outstanding activist," is wanted back by nine persons who are on a hunger strike.

Glemp added: "I must say that this hunger strike and all the agitation in the Ursus church only involve the activities of a few dozen people who want to be politically noted in Poland."

During the 3 days he has been in Brazil on "a private and pastoral visit"--as he repeatedly says--Primate Glemp tried to emphasize that the church and its members should stay out of political activities."

He said in Brasilia that "with the teaching of the gospel the church carries out a social task, but the church cannot get involved in any political activity because it would be taking sides."

Observers believe that this is Glemp's special slogan during his stay in Brazil, a country where the Catholic Church is under the control of progressive groups, where the bishops are actively participating in political, and social activities, and where there are two priests--two French missionaries--sentenced for political crimes.

The Polish primate said that he is "unfamiliar" with the political activities of the Brazilian Catholic Church, denying having any specific instruction on this matter from the Vatican for the National Conference of Brazilian Bishops (CNBB) whose president, Ivo Lorscheider, met with him.

CSO: 3548/205

DAILY REPORTS ON YOUTH PROBLEMS

AU211310 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 17 Feb 84 p 5

[Report signed 'emer': "Saving Young People"]

[Text] In 1982 there were over 210,000 minors and adolescents under court supervision, mainly as a result of a neglect of parental responsibilities. The percentage of schoolchildren requiring medical care or psychiatric-pedagogical treatment is the same as it has been for several years: 30-40 percent.

The considerable burdening of boys and girls with curricular activities shifts problems with upbringing to a further point in time. Journalists were informed about this and other reasons behind the lack of social adaptation of children and young people, as well as about actions against these negative phenomena, during a press conference at the Ministry of Education and Upbringing.

It emerges from information presented by schools that as much as 12,500 children were consuming alcohol in 1982. In that year, almost 3,500 minors were in sobering-up centers and detention. If one can speak about a certain drop in alcoholism among young people, one cannot say the same about drug addiction among them. The number of addicts is constantly growing at a dangerous rate. In 1982, at a time when militia records showed that there were almost 2,000 drug addicts who were minors and school records showed that there were almost 5,000 schoolchildren who were drug addicts, a 40 percent growth in drug addiction was noted.

The crime rate is not falling. It is still growing at a small rate, and includes a percentage of girls below 18 who practise prostitution. The number of suicides and suicide attempts is growing.

Preventive activity has been undertaken by the Education Ministry for several years already. A particularly great deal of attention is being paid to introducing two new laws: on sober upbringing and the combatting of alcoholism, and on conduct in cases involving minors. But it is difficult to say if these activities have been fully effective. An unsatisfactory materials base, a shortage of qualified personnel, a shortage of funds--these are just some of the troubles as a result of which it is impossible to fully implement the abovementioned two laws.

Last year, a special "social preventive program" was worked out in the ministry on the recommendation of the government presidium. It emerged from the need to

apply special preventive and resocializing measures to about 20 percent of the school population, which was the percentage calculated.

The essence of this program is prevention, and not emergency treatment. Therefore, the program's authors specify the working out and development of general preventive measures--warnings, eliminating the causes of a lack of social adaptation, supporting and encouraging the development of persons exposed to the effects of social pathology among adults, and protecting children and young people against these effects.

Preventing alcoholism and drug addiction is receiving priority status. An essential new feature in the practical combatting of pathological phenomena is the need, contained in the program, to call on the help of specialists, and not just refer to the duty of teachers and upbringers.

The authors of the program foresee the program's implementation in three stages, starting this year and finishing in 1995.

CSO: 2600/747

POLAND

PZPR OFFICIAL DISCUSSES WORKER DISCONTENT

AU272009 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 25 Feb 84 p 5

[Interview given by Stefan Walter, PZPR Central Committee member and fitter in the Zamech plant in Elblag, to Marek Henzler on 18 February: "Upstairs and Downstairs--The Absent Are Wrong"--place not given]

[Excerpts] [Henzler] How do you evaluate the most recent accountability-election campaign in the party?

[Walter] I will talk about my own plant. Like many other plant committees, our plant committee was very much afraid as to the results of the accountability campaign. Will meetings be held? Will there be volunteers for election to the bodies of authority? During the campaign members began discussing the price hikes, but you know how such discussions affect the mood. However, our fears proved to be futile because the attendance at election meetings stood at 70-80 percent and the right people were willing to be elected to bodies of authority. There were even new volunteers.

[Henzler] Few workers were elected to bodies of authorities. Names of workers were crossed out during elections, especially in the mixed party organizations composed of clerks and workers. Can this be regarded as a tit for tat for the previous election?

[Walter] Workers' names were crossed out because no one, not even those at the highest level, is as capable as a worker is of speaking his mind about what gnaws at him and about the evil things around him. This is the source of conflicts and prejudices. There were fewer workers willing to be elected to the bodies of authority because many of them have been discouraged from open political work. Too many workers still continue not to believe in the sense of what the power apparatus is doing. They do not want to have to defend 1 day the measures they distrust. They cannot see any progress in the economic reform, whose results they cannot feel in the way of financial improvements. On the contrary, they say they have less money.

Workers continue to be bombarded with various official views and decisions they do not understand. They have been fed with scary tales about coming unemployment, but the fact is that we are short of workers. At the same time, they hear that many plants have too many workers and they are unable [to] understand why surplus manpower is not shifted to where it is needed. They are unable to understand

why, despite announcements, nothing is done to close the plants that produce losses or rubbishy and useless goods. In addition, workers continue to complain that the principle of social justice, which is being equated with the socialist system, has also been violated in that the costs of overcoming the crisis have been placed on the shoulders of those who are directly concerned with producing national income--on workers. This is what they think. This is bad for their moods, for their support for the policy of the bodies in authority, and for their willingness to actively participation in party bodies and in other organizations.

[Henzler] Almost 30 percent of party members left the organization in your plant Zamech. The same percentage ratio is true of the entire party. Were the changes in your plant only quantitative and not qualitative?

[Walter] Those who had never been seriously tied to the party and who had counted on an apartment or a car left the party. Those who were weak ideologically and who were afraid that their communities would chide them for holding party cards left the party. Also those who thought that our problems should be solved through more leftwing or more rightwing methods left the party. We helped them at times to do so. I do not think that the party has already purged itself of all such comrades. If it had, there would not have been so much grumbling about the activities of institutions or about various negative features for which party members working in these institutions are responsible.

[Henzler] Are new people, especially young people, beginning to join the party?

[Walter] As for my plant, not a single new member joined the party in 1982. Last year we had a few new members and this year we have had five applications for membership. However, no young people have applied. The crisis has affected them more acutely than anyone else. They have been the most disappointed people. I know it from my own experience. The implementation of the "youth" plenum of the Central Committee is not too good. Youth organizations are still weak. It is possible to mobilize the young in plants only for practical activity, such as subsidized housing construction, for example. There are no young volunteers for ideological activities and for work in the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth or in trade unions.

[Henzler] What are the subjects of present party discussions?

[Walter] Up to now our discussions have been dominated by food price hikes, which the people have managed to swallow somehow. Besides, the results of these hikes are still to come. The new leading subject is the new system of wages. Problems of living are still a dominant issue. We have almost completely abandoned ideological discussions.

[Henzler] Are you not afraid that the coming National Conference of Delegates will be a conference with too many embellishments?

[Walter] Not at all. It will be attended by hundreds and hundreds of the delegates to the memorable Ninth Party Congress and by the entire Central Committee, which is dominated by workers and peasants. We will not allow that conference to be embellished in any way. After all, even during today's [18 February] plenum the conference's materials have been severely criticized as

too optimistic. Such criticism was leveled by Comrade Maniawski from the Tarnow nitrogen plant, who said that those materials contained too little on what we have not accomplished and why.

We will speak at that conference just as much and just as critically as we speak at Central Committee plenums. We will evaluate ourselves at that conference, although the general plan is to let primarily the delegates and not the members of the bodies of authority speak. Some of the debates will be conducted in problem commissions. This will make it possible to get to know a larger number of grassroots views.

[Henzler] Did the party leadership and Central Committee members do whatever could be and had to be done in the [words indistinct]. Will delegates to the conference have a bone to pick with the party?

[Walter] We will see in 4 weeks' time. I think the delegates will have no reservations. After all, the road the party has treaded for almost 3 years now has not been a broad highway, but something like a path just cut through some virgin forest. There is no doubt that delegates will say that the people's sense of social justice has been violated, that many grassroots comrades think that the "new is being done in the old way," that the administrative apparatus and even the party apparatus are beginning to do their work in the old show-off style, and that activities are beginning to be determined behind closed doors. However, we should realize that it is not the top that is exclusively responsible for those things and that grassroots comrades must get down to tackling them and to eliminating those who advocate such methods of running the party, plants and offices.

[Henzler] The second half of the present term will no doubt be easier.

[Walter] Who knows what tomorrow will bring. Party work will be easier because our political adversary has been defeated.

[Henzler] Are you not aware of some other danger, such as the deteriorating material conditions of the working people and the results this may produce?

[Walter] I am well aware of all this, but we have to continue the policy of tightening our belts, unfortunately. But I will not be afraid of it if everyone tightens his belt in the same way.

CSO: 2600/751

GEN ZIELINSKI DISCUSSES MILITARY PERSONNEL POLICY

Warsaw PRZEGLAD WOJSK LADOWYCH in Polish No 1, Jan 84 pp 5-8

[Interview with the MON [National Defense Ministry] Cadre Department Chief, Division Gen Dr Zygmunt Zielinski, by Col Remigiusz Surgiewicz: "Cadre Policy Promotes the Integration and Consolidation of the Armed Forces of the PRL"]

[Text] Gen of Division Dr Zygmunt Zielinski began his military service in Sielce-on-Oka as a soldier of the Tadeusz Kosciuszko First Infantry Division. In 1944 he graduated from the Infantry Officer School in Riazan. In the postwar years he commanded troops and later he worked in military education in the Karol Swierczewski General Staff Academy Chief since 1968. He is secretary of the Military Council for National Salvation (WRON).

[Question] The new "Principles of Cadre Policy" are already compulsory in the PRL Armed Forces. In what way do they differ from the old ones? What are the most important changes introduced by this document?

[Answer] First of all I must correct an inaccuracy in your question. These are not new "Principles," but an amended new edition. The "Principles of Cadre Policy" have been in use in our armed forces for over 8 years and have fully passed their practical test. Thus there was no need for a complete change. The general assumptions and directions of the army cadre policy were not changed. The basic principles of cadre policy were also left unchanged. Nevertheless, after a period of several years there was a need for a certain improvement of the system, a verification of some of the established rules and making new ones; in a word, a need for a better adaptation of the "Principles" to the current needs of the army and to the degree of development of the professional cadre.

It ought to be mentioned here that amending the document was preceded by a year-long, community-wide discussion, in which the professional cadre took part.

The discussion produced rich material which was very helpful in the preparation of the new edition of the "Principles."

[Question] What, and to what extent, was changed in the "Principles of Cadre Policy."

[Answer] The changes are numerous and I shall present only the most important ones.

The new improved version of the "Principles" consists of two parts: a public one, which contains the principles of the course of military service of professional soldiers, and a confidential one, containing the models of the course of military service of the officers of particular corps, departments and services. Both parts contain new material and small or large amendments to the previous editions.

New in the "Principles" is the section titled "The Role of Supervisors and Cadre Organs in Cadre Policy, and the Style and Methods of Cadre Work." This section defines the duties and rights of supervisors and cadre organs in cadre policy, their role in the efficient functioning of the armed forces, and their place among other functional departments. The methods and forms of official activity in cadre matters are also specified, creating a modern, humanized and at the same time effective style of cadre policy.

In section V the steering of the course of military service of officers is defined. The essence and function of steering and its integral connection with the forecasting of the individual course of service are presented in it. The specific duties of supervisors and the duties of an officer in this regard are formulated.

A new chapter titled "Supplying Cadre for Central Institutions" is added, pointing out the ways and sources of fulfilling the cadre needs of these units. A new institution of "candidates" was created as an important element in the service development of the cadre which is to prepare and test the usefulness of officers in conceptual work. The rights and duties of candidates and the tasks of supervisors with regard to the selection of officers for these positions are described.

A new way of supplying cadre for military colleges and scientific research institutes (centers), which will now form a uniform system, is presented. It defines the principles of selection and verification of candidates, the creation of information banks and the flow of information in them.

A new chapter concerns the disclosure and utilization in service of the abilities of soldiers in particular areas of knowledge or creativity. It specifies the criteria of qualifying soldiers for the talent group, clearly separating it from the accelerated officer development fund [FPR]. The methods of work with them, and the duties of military schools and military units in this regard, are specified. The principles of forecasting and steering the course of military service of this part of the cadre, and the gathering and transfer of information regarding it, are also defined.

In addition to the wholly new material, the old sections and chapters were edited and rearranged, and a number of new solutions introduced. Among them is the principle of the public nature of cadre policy which includes: service

evaluations (periodical and special) and evaluations from the cadre review, plans concerning the raising or supplementing of qualifications, forecasts regarding appointments for service posts, and the intention of leaving military service; it is clearly stressed that with regard to appointments to successive military ranks through that of lieutenant colonel, there are no quantitative limits; the percentage limit of appointments to the rank of colonel, etc., is retained.

[Question] What Comrade General has said so far shows that the degree and range of amendments to the "Principles" is very large and that a number of completely new elements have been introduced. Could not one say, therefore, that these are new "Principles"?

[Answer] As I have already said, despite considerable changes and additions, these are not new "Principles." All the former general rules of the cadre system proven in practice over the last 8 years have been retained. The broad range of amendments did not affect the basic content, only improved it, modernized it and brought it even closer to current needs. I encourage the whole cadre, particularly supervisors, to familiarize themselves in detail with the new version of the "Principles."

[Question] Among the many aspects of cadre policy, there was always considerable interest in the realization of the policy of promotions and decorations. How does this issue look in the current policy?

[Answer] It is quite understandable that the realization of the promotions and decorations policy always evoked great interest of our community and is closely watched and felt by the professional cadre. Proper action in this direction has an important impact on soldiers' feelings, their activity, involvement in service duties, interhuman relations, and in the final outcome--on the quality of the functioning of military units and institutions.

Every irregularity, the smallest deviation from the accepted principles is immediately noticed and commented upon. The community notes soldiers distinguishing themselves by their attitude and action in service, and therefore deserving a decoration. If a supervisor is not objective in the evaluation of his subordinates and singles out for decoration not those who deserve it, he not only causes discontent in the community--by violating the principles of the issue--but at the same time he disqualifies himself as a commander. All the irregularities found during territorial control and inspection and during the supervision of service evaluations and the annual action of promotions and decorations, are severely dealt with.

I also wish to emphasize that the current "Principles of Cadre Policy" define clearly and explicitly the criteria for promoting and decorating professional soldiers. On the basis, a commander can carry out proper activity in this regard. The principle is that in the first order the best soldiers, distinguishing themselves in service and meeting the required formal conditions, ought to be promoted and decorated. This applies both to officers in the FPR, and to this part of the cadre which for various reasons (age, for example) can no longer be in the fund, but which nevertheless carries out its

duties in exemplary fashion. This principle will continue to apply. Mediocrity or simple "sitting it out" in a service post cannot be a sufficient basis for decoration. The awareness of this fact among the cadre in general is becoming continually more common.

During the last few years of the Principles being in force, this situation has been undergoing systematic improvement. There of course are occurrences of mistakes or wrongdoing, but they are becoming increasingly rare. This testifies to the correctness of the adopted model solutions and their practical application. It also proves that both in this and in other aspects of cadre policy, practice depends not only on the regulations but above all on the people who put them into practice.

[Question] The whole of the cadre policy assigns considerable importance to the problem of class specialists. What criteria are used in the development of this group of professional cadre?

[Answer] It must be clearly said that in our armed forces considerable importance is attached to the issue of the planned increase of general and professional qualifications of the whole cadre. The problem of class specialists is extremely important, but it is only one of many problems in this respect.

It is a truism nevertheless worth repeating, that the overall development of the armed forces, their modernization, keeping up with the world level, etc., depends in the main on the qualifications and skills of the professional cadre. After all, it is the cadre who decides the proper functioning of the military organism on a daily basis, and this will remain true also in the future.

Even the greatest activity and involvement will not yield expected results, however, if they are not supported by broad and profound professional and general knowledge and the ability to put it into practical use.

The issue of the systematic evolution and development of qualifications by the professional cadre is the basic principle of the development of armed forces and one of the major goals of the cadre policy. The idea is that all soldiers are obliged to acquire various forms of specialist knowledge. On the acquisition of specific qualifications depends assignment to a post in the next stage of service, or appointment to a higher military rank, among other things.

The carrying out of duties by cadre during martial law disturbed this process somewhat. One can note a certain decrease in soldiers' interest in raising their qualifications. If this was somewhat justified in the difficult years 1981-1983, now it no longer is so. Therefore in the current year we are paying particular attention to this problem in order to improve radically the situation in this regard.

We would like to activate various forms of practical and special training in military units for officers from the IC [Central Institutions], the operational level command, and education, in order to bring this cadre closer to the practical problems of the service.

[Question] In the current year among the armed forces there will take place another periodical evaluation of the whole cadre. What principles, criteria and dates are operative in this regard?

[Answer] The periodical evaluation of the whole cadre, in which we all, as the evaluators and the evaluated, will participate this year, is the most important cadre task for the supervisors of all levels of command. The evaluation is particularly important for the reason that it provides a unique opportunity for a comprehensive evaluation of the cadre acting in the difficult conditions of martial law, prior to martial law, and following martial law.

This period was a rigorous test of the quality of all professional soldiers. Particular soldiers passed this test in varying degrees and in varying ranges. The result of this test ought to find full reflection in the content of the periodic evaluation.

We will be evaluating the cadre for the period of 5 years of action. In this evaluation we must present in detail the ideological-political, moral, and combat condition which every soldier presented in his service position.

In making the periodic evaluations, we must adhere to principles and honesty, objectivity and responsibility. The evaluations will be the basis for concrete forecasts of individual service development opinions for the next several years. Therefore it is necessary that supervisors prepare properly for making the evaluations, become especially familiar in detail with the proper regulations, and gather as much information as possible about subordinates as the basic condition for achieving the intended goals of the evaluation.

[Question] Could Comrade General familiarize us with some specific principles concerning the evaluation action?

[Answer] As far as specific principles, criteria and dates of the periodic evaluation are concerned, they are given in the instructions for service evaluations and in the directives for cadre work in 1984. Here I shall only cite the most important ones.

The evaluation action will cover the whole cadre of the armed forces: officers, ensigns, and professional non-commisioned officers. Supervisors and the cadre apparatus of all levels of command are obliged to prepare and carry out the whole action to the best of their possibilities, according to earlier prepared schedules. We suggest that the evaluations describe with greater precision and more comprehensively than before the ideological-political and ethical attitudes, taking into consideration the level of ideological maturity and the ethical-moral qualities manifested in the course of service and in the soldier's daily life. Evaluations made with regard to all parts of opinion ought to be complemented and enriched by the elements revealed in the

particularly difficult period, 1981-1983 and after the imposition of martial law.

In justifying and complementing numerical evaluations a broad use of descriptions ought to be made. The point is to present in a dynamic rather than statistical way the evaluation of the soldier's attitude, his service activity, the physical and psychological resistance which he manifested during the difficulties of the past period and how he improved his skills.

In the process of evaluating, the soldier's weaknesses and manifestations of a lack of professional or political activity ought to be disclosed.

What we need is an exhaustive answer to the question in what degree the soldier matured to thinking in the general, state categories.

The point is also to formulate more comprehensively and pointedly conclusions and suggestions regarding further utilization of the evaluated soldier in the service. We must also attach proper importance to the act of acquainting the subordinate with the evaluation. The content of the evaluation must be skillfully used in educational work, training and cadre action.

With regard to the dates--the whole action will last several months. By the end of February, organizational-technical preparations for the periodical evaluation action ought to be finished in the whole army. The first evaluations ought to be done by the end of May; in June the evaluations will be completed in the professional aspect and July and August are assigned for the preparation of evaluations of the second part of evaluators. We anticipate acquainting soldiers with their evaluations in September.

[Question] Will extending the whole evaluation process over time not influence negatively its course and quality?

[Answer] I believe the contrary to be true. The period of several months will allow for better preparation for the action, give it more peaceful and deeper thought, permit the gathering of appropriate material about the soldiers being evaluated, discuss them broadly in command groups--which will permit the rendering of honest opinion and correct cadre decisions.

Haste would be absolutely undesirable here, especially because the next periodical evaluation will not take place for another 5 years.

[Question] Commanders of all levels are responsible for the realization of the cadre policy. On their objectivity, honesty and justness depends the steady development in this sphere of military life. What do you wish, Comrade General, to tell them in relation to this?

[Answer] Commanders are responsible for all the spheres of military life in the units subordinated to them and for the realization of the cadre policy. For the latter sphere they are particularly responsible, for it directly concerns the most important matter--the individual, and has a definite impact on other spheres. Neglect and irregularities in this regard have a negative

impact on the combat readiness, discipline, training and education of the forces.

With relation to this, the basic duty of the commanders at all levels is a thorough knowledge of the goals and directions of cadre policy in the armed forces and particularly the knowledge of the specific principles of its realization. Without a thorough knowledge of these matters it is impossible to imagine correct cadre activity in the division, tactical unit or military institution. Therefore each commander, each supervisor with responsibility for cadres must know well the decisions contained in the "Principles" and follow them rigorously in practice.

The opinion is sometime expressed that minor deviations from the "Principles," bypassing in a single case a cadre regulation, has no great significance in practice and is therefore justified. Of course, a single case does not constitute a problem, but if it occurs in dozens and hundreds of cases, it becomes a serious cadre problem in the whole of the armed forces. Therefore the commanders' sense of responsibility in following the cadre law in practice is very important.

It must be stressed that full knowledge of the cadre regulations in force is only the starting point in cadre activity. Consistency, honesty and adherence is decisive in solving cadre problems in daily practice. Regulations should not obscure the individual, his difficulties, ambitions, drives, successes and failures.

Only such realization of the cadre policy permits the integration and consolidation of the military community, serves to improve interhuman relations, better cooperation and collaboration of soldiers, and, as a result, assures the proper functioning of the armed forces.

In conclusion I would like to add that a full and comprehensive knowledge of people is the basis for solving all of the cadre problems properly. The knowledge about our subordinates ought to be continually enriched and expanded. They ought to be observed in daily action, during exercises and training in the field, in social work and in after-service life. The better a commander knows his people, the fewer mistakes he makes in cadre activity.

What can I wish commanders? I wish them to realize fully all the cadre tasks facing them and I wish that both themselves and their subordinates achieve satisfaction from their activity.

[Question] Thank you for the conversation, Comrade General.

12270  
CSO: 2600/661

POLAND

BRIEFS

JARUZELSKI RECEIVES ACTORS UNION LEADERS--Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski has received the leadership of the Polish Actors' Union, ZASP, including chairman, Professor Henryk Szletyński; and Tadeusz Jastrzebowski, Krzysztof Rau, Danuta Cholewińska, Jan Nowakowski, Zbigniew Koczanowicz, Tadeusz Cygler and Jan Pastuszko. Present were: Professor Bogdan Suchodolski, chairman of the National Council of Culture; and Professor Jerzy Adamski, chairman of the national group of actors-party members. The representatives of the milieu of Polish actors presented a program of activity and achievements of the organization, which was established in December 1983 and has assembled about 1,500 actors from dramatic, puppet and musical theaters; and from entertainment, radio and television. General Wojciech Jaruzelski, while adopting a stand toward matters raised during the meeting, pointed out high national standing of the theater, and the dimension of its social mission. All matters dealing with development of dramatic art will be undertaken and solved in a close partner-like cooperation with the professional-creative representation of the milieu. Waldemar Swirgon, secretary of the PZPR Central Committee; Deputy Premier Mieczysław Rakowski; and Minister of Culture Professor Kazimierz Zygułski took part in the meeting. [No video available] [Text] [LD202016 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 20 Feb 84]

PLENARY SESSION HELD--A plenary session of the voivodship party control commission (WKKP) was held in Katowice today. Eugeniusz Kotas, chairman of the WKKP, chaired the session. Also taking part were Alojzy Gorzawski, member of the Presidium of the Central Party Control Commission, and the chairmen of town, town-village, parish and factory commissions in Katowice voivodship. Mapping out the main directions for the activities of the WKKP in accordance with the decisions of the 18th voivodship report-back and election conference concerning statutory tasks of the commission and the struggle for the unity and purity of party ranks and socialist morality was the subject of the session. It was decided to devote special attention to the active participation by party members in the implementation of economic reform. Harsh measures will also be taken against those party members who fail to react swiftly and effectively to complaints and grievances from citizens. It was stressed during the discussion that it is necessary to cooperate more with party control commissions at primary level, who expect guidelines and assistance in the programming of their work. [Text] [LD161119 Katowice Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 15 Feb 84]

PZPR VOIVODSHIP COMMITTEES MEET--PZPR voivodship committees have been meeting. In Legnica, the subject was the health service problems of the inhabitants. Taking part in the meeting was Miroslaw Milewski, Politburo member and secretary of the Central Committee. In Szczecin, there was discussion of the problems of scientific development. Taking part in the deliberations was Central Committee Secretary Henryk Bednarski. To maintain permanent, systematic contact with the basic and factory party organizations, to listen to people's arguments, to support the authority of voivodship party echelons and all valuable and sensible initiatives: that is the general conclusion of the discussion at the plenary meeting of the Krakow Party Committee. [Text] [LD072124 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1530 GMT 7 Mar 84]

WOMEN'S PROBLEMS DISCUSSED--Before the National Conference of PZPR Delegates, a statement was made for PAP by Zofia Grzyb, chairwoman of the Women's Commission and member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo. The most important achievements of the commission include embarking on the problem of suitable working conditions for women in the light and heavy industries. Together with the Women's Commission of the ZSL Supreme Committee, Zofia Grzyb said, we have assessed the implementation of tasks undertaken by the PZPR and the political parties, as well as other bodies, in order to improve the situation of rural women. Together with the Social Policy Commission of the [PZPR] Central Committee, the commission has expressed its views on the government program for countering inflation and the program for economies. The commission has ascertained the need for a thorough examination of the needs and for the coordination of sources of assistance, which ensure the easing of every-day difficulties. [Text] [LD072257 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 7 Mar 84]

WASTE COUNTERACTION DISCUSSED--A fact of waste, especially of scarce raw materials, and as a result reduction of supplies, and considerable number of shoddy goods during production of which a working time of people and machines was wasted, are still not met with sufficient counteraction. This fact was underlined during a meeting of journalists in the General Prosecutor's Office in Warsaw. It happens despite the law on quality of goods, service, work and buildings, which has been in force for almost 4 and 1/2 years. In connection with that, during prosecutors' inspection of observing the law, systematically and consistently a responsibility for faulty production of goods, improper services and building services, will be executed. Although the law envisages penal responsibility, not a single notification of an offence of drastic deterioration of quality was submitted to a prosecutor's office. [Text] [LD202028 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 20 Feb 84]

JARUZELSKI OPENS PARTY PLENUM--At the end of the 15th plenum of the party's Central Committee, a speech was made by First Secretary General Wojciech Jaruzelski. Referring to the national conference of delegates announced for March, he stated that the topic of its deliberations will be issues of exceptional importance for the party, for the whole society. At the conference, General Jaruzelski, said, there should be a penetrating and businesslike analysis of the state of implementation of the Ninth Congress program, of the

line of socialist renewal. This analysis should open a new stage in the process of realizing that program. It will bear fruit with new initiatives and more effective action. An important stress on the worker orientation of our activity, Wojciech Jaruzelski said, will be the open plenum of the Central Committee, which it is intended to hold in the second quarter of this year. This will, in fact, be in all-Poland conference, with the participation of a broad circle of party and nonparty representatives of the working class. We want to devote this 16th plenum, stated the party's first secretary, to the worker character of the party, the role and significance of the working class in the state, in the country's socialist transformation. The full text of the speech will be in tomorrow's press. [Text] [LD192214 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 19 Feb 84]

CSO: 2600/748

DECREE ON DEPARTMENT OF RELIGIOUS CULTS AMENDED

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 15, 23 Feb 84 p 3

[Council of State Decree Amending Some Provisions in Decree No 334/1970 on the organization and operation of the Department of Cults]

[Text] The Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees:

Article I--Decree No 334/1970 on the organization and operation of the Department of Cults, which became Law No 42/1970, published in BULETINUL OFICIAL Part I, No 103/1970, with subsequent modifications, is amended as follows:

1. Article 18 will have the following content:

"Article 18--The Department of Cults is headed by a chairman and a vice chairman who also executes the duties of director of the Directorate for Cult Relations.

The chairman of the Department of Cults is appointed by presidential decree.

The vice chairman of the Department of Cults is on the level of a deputy state secretary."

2. Article 19 will have the following content:

"Article 19--The Department of Cults has the following organizational structure:

- a) Directorate for Cult Relations
- b) Personnel-Training and Economic-Financial Service

In order to carry out its functions in the counties, the Department of Cults has specialized inspectors who belong to the Directorate for Cult Relations.

The organizational structure by work departments and the maximum number of personnel in the apparatus of the department are specified in Annex No 1\* and Annex No 2\*, which are an integral part of the present decree."

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\*The annexes are being communicated to the institutions concerned.

3. Article 26 will have the following content:

"Article 26--The executive committees of the county peoples councils will provide the material resources necessary for the execution of the activity of the specialized territorial inspectors for the cults."

Article II--Personnel transferred in the interests of the service or assigned to other positions with lower levels of remuneration as well as cadres who have been displaced as a result of the application of the provisions of the present decree benefit from the rights specified in Article 21 of Decree No 162/1973 on the setting of unitary structural norms for economic units.

Article III--The provisions of Decree No 367/1980 on measures for the rational utilization of personnel in socialist units, whose application was extended by Decree No 476/1983, does not apply, for a period of 3 months, to the positions in socialist units to which displaced personnel in the apparatus of the Department of Cults will be transferred as a result of the application of the present decree.

Nicolae Ceausescu,  
President of the Socialist Republic of Romania  
Bucharest, 23 February 1984  
No 61

CSO: 2700/162

ROMANIA

BRIEFS

REMOVAL OF DEPUTY MINISTER--The President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Andrei Erdely is relieved of his position as deputy minister of industrial construction. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I, No 12, 14 Feb 83 p 1]

CSO: 2700/162

YUGOSLAVIA

KOSOVO PAPER DISCUSSES EMIGRATION, YOUTH, ECONOMIC CRIME

[Editorial Report] JEDINSTVO, the Serbian-language daily published in Pristina, of 14 February, page 6, cites the official security report on the situation in Vucitrn Opstina which says, mentioning no names, that last year there were 14 cases involving the writing of 65 Albanian nationalist slogans and that 15 Albanian nationalist pamphlets were distributed, or about one-half the number in each case registered the previous year; there were also 16 cases of inter-nationality clashes between Albanians and Serbs and that the Samodreza case [murder of a Serb] in 1982, as well as another aggressive action committed by Albanian school youth in 1982, supplemented by the spreading of various rumors, had lowered public confidence in the security organs and accelerated the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from this opstina. The article says that emigration from this opstina started at the end of the 1960's, increased rapidly after the events of 11 March 1981, and now--while data show that it is slowing--there are, in fact, almost no Serbs or Montenegrins left to emigrate in many villages.

The same issue, on page 2, reports that the emigration problem in Kosovo had been the subject of January deliberations in the SFRY Assembly on expanding Article 180 of the Law on Obligatory Relations which would increase the responsibility of republics and provinces to compensate citizens for personal and property damage suffered as a result of public demonstrations or terrorist actions.

The 18 February issue, page 2, said: "In Podujevo Opstina direct pressure on [Serbs and Montenegrins] to emigrate exists but there are fewer cases of this. Such pressures consist especially of vandalizing grave markers, shouting slogans, burning farmers' hay, etc. More frequent are the psychological and other forms of pressure which irritate, demoralize, and influence [Serbs and Montenegrins] to move from the province. Excesses are largely committed by school youth, which clearly shows that some of them are indoctrinated and represent one of the main weapons of the irredentists in this opstina."

The 17 February issue, page 2, noted that juvenile delinquency in the province increased 39 percent in 1982 over 1981, with 2,903 delinquents who committed 2,284 criminal actions.

In citing student/teacher data in Kosovo, the 15 February issue, page 3, reported that on the secondary school level only 2,798 of the 4,240 teachers were trained instructors. It added that the university in Pristina has 1,618

teachers and 36,282 students, including 14,048 part-time students. In other advanced schools and faculties in the province there are 9,661 full-time students--7,557 taught in Albanian and 2,104 in Serbo-Croatian.

BORBA (Belgrade, 14-15 January 1984, page 8) reported a Kosovo SAWP Conference meeting which criticized the education system, particularly the secondary school level, citing Serbian speakers who said "Instruction is lacking for 132 vocations and 182 professions...as a result, the present secondary schools have not fulfilled the large tasks society has placed before them. There are a total of about 86,000 students in secondary schools, of whom [only] 35,636 are in [profession]-directed education and 50,372 in the basic program. Instruction is organized within 47 school centers offering 90 subjects. Instruction given in Albanian is attended by 69,562 Albanians, 71 Serbs, 77 Moslems, and about 140 of other designation. Instruction given in Serbo-Croatian is attended by 12,438 Serbs, 1,951 Montenegrins, 394 Albanians, 2,350 Moslems, and about 558 of other national designation."

In reporting on economic crime, JEDINSTVO of 15 February, page 5, discussed the case of the four Albanian directors and officials of an agricultural cooperative in Orahovac Opstina who were expelled from the LC and from their positions for using state funds for personal enrichment. The same issue, page 6, comments on the fact that the former head of the foreign-exchange control section of the Kosovo national bank, Haljilj Hajdari, was hired as counselor of the "Energo" internal bank within the Kosovo electric power enterprise after he had been indicted and sentenced to 4 years in prison for unethical conduct in his work at the Kosovo bank.

Last year 1,295 cases of economic crime were reported in the province, according to statements made at a SAWP meeting reported in the 22 February issue, page 7, where it was said that "damage from such crime is very large but the criminals are not punished. The usurpers of social property, those who are stealing money, speculators, and those committing fraud in the economy are largely directors, managers, and treasurers.... Such crime is much larger than can be judged from court cases. The courts of associated labor in the province do not manage to examine all cases of violations of workers' self-management rights, usurpation of socialist property and forest land, the stealing of money, and numerous social abuses; 4 years ago there was 8,700 cases of economic violations, today there are 28,000."

CSO: 2800/241

YUGOSLAVIA

DIFFERING VIEWS ON DEGREE OF STATE TOLERANCE OF CHURCH

Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 7 Feb 84 pp 41-42

Article by Nenad Ivankovic: "Martyrdom as an Insinuation"

Text Some people are now interpreting the summons by the bishop of Krk to "bloodshed" as a reflection of "excessive tolerance toward the Church," while others identify this same criticism of the prelate's statement with anti-Church and "very ominous tendencies."

The extent to which our state-Church scene is really complex and burdened with all kinds of subjectivisms is also demonstrated to some extent by the "fate" of that statement by the bishop of Krk (Karmel Zazinovic) in which he called upon believers to "shed blood" in the struggle against this "Godless materialism." Specifically, GLAS KONCILA (No 2/84), defending this statement from criticism (DANAS, 10 January), asserted that this actually had to do with certain anti-Church intentions and the spread of "very ominous tendencies." This newspaper, however, did not say anything about the actual meaning of the call to "shed blood"; it perhaps seemed quite natural that believers in this country would be urged to martyrdom, and therefore it only says that the bishop thought that "the believers are willing to shed their own blood for their faith, not other people's." And this, at the very least, means that GLAS KONCILA accepts as a ready-made and self-evident matter that someone in Yugoslavia (need we say who?) wants this innocent blood. On the other hand, however, in the Rijeka NOVI LIST (of 20 January) we read that this bishop's "impudence is a reflection of our excessive tolerance toward the Church," which should perhaps mean that our real problem here is some sort of liberalism in regard to the churches, and not sectarianism, somewhat along the lines of the view that states that clericalism is the invention of the sectarian, and conversely, sectarianism is the invention of the clericalist.

It is therefore understandable that it still seems advisable to some people to spread by all possible means the rumor that in this society believers live in martyred situations, and to others, to spread the rumor that the Church in Yugoslavia has too much freedom, which is naturally very dangerous socially. Usually nothing is cited in favor of such assertions: it is somehow kept self-evident that world view and ideological differences and polarizations (for which some people are making wholehearted attempts) should in and of themselves be sufficient to be taken on faith.

Consequently GLAS KONCILA does not say anything about the bishop's statement, although it is the only important thing in this case, and instead deals with the construction of some sort of "malicious tendencies." And these, according to that paper, are seen in the very circumstance that someone challenges the reasonableness of the prelate's judgment. In fact, regardless of all the tensions and difficulties that occur among us with respect to religion and the Church (don't they also exist in other areas of life?), it is clear to every well-intentioned and more or less objective person that conditions in Yugoslavia are not such that martyrdom should be sought from anyone. In any case, that is what is believed by some observers of whom it could not be said that they are burdened with any exaggerated subjectivism. For example, the Austrian newspaper SUDOST TAGEPOST wrote on 4 September, among other things, the following: "Religious believers in Yugoslavia enjoy relatively great possibilities for development. For example, in Yugoslavia in 1981 there were 161 newspapers and journals published by religious communities, with a total circulation of 22.43 million copies, with the state assisting in the purchase of paper...As for the Catholic Church, it has 5,738 churches in Yugoslavia, 182 men's and 1415 women's monasteries, 3000 priests, 2817 nuns, 600 seminarists in 20 secondary schools, and 754 registered students, with about 350 of them studying abroad..."

As for the theoretical position of Christians with respect to ideological and world-view issues, it is worth while to recall the view of one of our outstanding theologians: "From the Bible it is known, and it is one of the fundamental doctrines of the Church, that Christ did not die for any idea, or for any world view, or even a movement, but rather for us people. And that is everyone." Naturally, we would like to be able to read something similar in the newspaper that would like to be the voice of the council (and thus the voice of a new spirit in the Church).

This naturally does not mean that any ideological and world-view indifferentism is now expected from a believer, but only that their convictions should bypass social polarizations and the encouragement of exclusivism and intolerance. But numerous examples indicated that this is not always the case, including the one that has to do with Radio Vatican's broadcast in Croatian on 28 December 1983. Specifically, asking what the essence of practical and theoretical materialism was, that radio answered that it was a negation of everything Christian, and that its consequences could be seen as soon as one opened the "black chronicle of any Yugoslav newspaper and read the news about murders, thefts, frauds, violence of every kind, etc. This is everything that the Christian religion calls a mortal sin, and it is a consequence of the materialistic understanding of life."

Naturally, everyone can think what he wants to about materialism, but systematically spreading such ideological artifices does not contribute anything good, since no one could use the same logic to turn the matter around and say, for example, that the mafia and all its crimes, from the kidnapping of newborn children to the most unscrupulous murders and acts of violence--for example in Sicily and Calabria--are a consequence of Catholic morality (we probably do not have to prove that Christianity is still spiritually dominant there). Or we could even say that all of that

total misery in Latin and Central America is the fault of Christianity because for the most part Catholic regimes are in power there!

We do not assert that there are no such unobjective portrayals or similar ones of the Church, its role in history, etc., but this should no be an alibi for a systematic campaign against everything that is not Christian, and which is assuming increasingly broader dimensions in Yugoslavia. As an illustration, we mention the latest issue of the Serbian patriarchate's PRAVOSLAVLJE, of 15 January, in which, among other things, the following is calmly stated: "Religion and religious people are the least responsible for the situation in which we find ourselves (referring to the economic and social crisis), since they are not in leading positions (...) nor are they the ones who are being asked about what is going on..." So religion and its followers are expiating someone else's sins??

And now, when critical reactions are being made to such things, most Church people among us are declaring this to be some sort of anti-Church activity and a spreading of "very ominous tendencies." And this is naturally not by chance, since we still have active among us the kind of clericalist mimicry that has always tried to portray clericalism as the nature of religion itself and as the authentic Church, which also explains this quid pro quo of GLAS KONCILA.

But let us return to that statement by the bishop. GLAS KONCILA is quite correct in saying that this bishop is in any case a "very peace-loving bishop," about whom VJESNIK also wrote favorably at one time. Note that GLAS KONCILA did not say then that by writing favorably about certain statements by the Krk prelate, for example, we are not complimenting the Church (as we are now, according to it, attacking the Church). No, and that is not the only important thing. More significant is the fact that the bishop spoke a great deal, for example in 1981 in a Lent letter, about how the Church should be a "very constructive element in creating fraternity in the world and in our social community." And further: "Our honest life," the bishop then wrote, "our religious loyalty, our seriousness, diligence and respect in the work place, our respect for those who think differently from us, our genuine love for our homeland and the cherishing of all Christian and civic virtues will perhaps in time lead at least those who sincerely seek the truth to change their opinion of Christ and his Church."

This does not at all, however, change the meaning of the bishop's present statement, although it is surprising that such a "peace-loving bishop" could so easily utter such harsh words. But this matter cannot be explained by a phrase about some kind of "exaggerated tolerance toward the Church," especially not in this specific case. Although one cannot speak with certainty about the bishop's motives (the reasons may in fact be very different and complex), nevertheless, for the sake of truth, it is worthwhile to say that they will rather have to do with a certain intolerance on the part of the local sociopolitical factors in the Krk bishopric. In fact, as far as we know, and this is no secret, last fall there, during local Church celebrations, certain difficulties were created for this bishop and his believers without grounds; this--and this is also no secret--angered the

bishop. Thus his statement could also be the result of those circumstances, and so in fact it is paradoxical that his conduct is now being "explained" in terms of some sort of alleged liberalism toward the Church.

But regardless of these reasons or others, we believe that a bishop should nevertheless not permit himself such speech, if he wants to be considered a responsible Church leader and also a responsible citizen of this country. From this point of view, we maintain, his statement, regardless of all the possible alleviating circumstances, has deserved and does deserve public critical attention.

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YUGOSLAVIA

FURTHER COMMENT ON CHURCH AFFILIATION, LCY MEMBERSHIP

Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 14 Feb 84 pp 24-25

Article by Nenad Ivankovic: "Whether a Believer Can Be a Member of the LCY"

Text Should a member of the League of Communists attend religious services, for example a funeral, a wedding, or a baptism? Should his religious spouse be allowed to baptize a child? Is he allowed to attend a classical music concert or some other cultural event in a church? Finally, what attitude is a communist in Yugoslavia supposed to have toward religion, believers, religious tradition, and religious symbolism and culture?

These and many of the issues derived from them (more or less reasonable and relevant) have recently attracted a considerable amount of public attention, and not because of any abstract theoretical interest, but rather because of certain events on which decisions have been made by the statutory commissions of the LCY and in some cases by the courts. It is sufficient, for example, to recall the M.C. from Duga Resa who was expelled from the party because her spouse baptized their child, or even the four teachers from Kanjiza who first flew out of the LC and then lost their jobs for attending a Bach music concert in a church there. Naturally, this matter also includes cases with a different outcome, for example, like the one in Donji Vakufsk. That had to do with a teacher who actually was not a member of the party, but lost his job for being religious. After a court decision, however, he was returned to the job that he previously had.

Who Is Religious?

All of this naturally indicates that practice is very diverse in Yugoslavia, but also that some theoretical issues are not always clarified, so that sometimes it is not known what is and what is not a religious ceremony, what the content of religion is, etc. Sometimes Marxism is simplified to atheism like some new religion, and is frequently discussed in concepts that are not strictly defined (for example, "religion" and "Marxism"), and very different realities are understood by them. When this happens, consciously or unconsciously, ideological-theoretical models are mixed with practical-political ones, and it often turns out that in Yugoslavia the central issue is the issue of a consensus on God's existence or even a confrontation along the line of theism-atheism.

All of this naturally, in one way or another, stimulates different views and arguments, and so in recent days we have actually been witnesses of a sort of "bringing up to date" of this problem on the pages of the church and social press (from PRAVOSLAVLJE and GLAS KONCILA to DELO, BORBA, VJESNIK, POLITIKA...). The issues brought up by the above-mentioned events and certain decisions of the LCY statutory commissions (of which the public was informed at the time) have now been for the most part reduced to the issue of whether a believer can be a member of the LC, and whether the attitude that religion is an obsolete spiritual awareness, an error and an illusion is justified.

It is interesting that few people have tried in any way to define clearly what was supposed to be meant by the concept of "religion." One gets the impression that this is an empty word in view of the realm of discourse. Thus an entire problem (interestingly enough, equally in the social and the religious press) is reduced to the issue of belief or disbelief in God, and it is concluded that someone who does not believe in God cannot be a member of the church, and someone who believes in him cannot be a member of the LC. The extent to which this is simplified is also demonstrated by the fact that there are religions in the world in which the central idea is not God, and even ones that are definitely atheistic (for example, Jainism).

Obviously, "religion" is not just the mere belief in the existence of transcendence, or just that attitude; rather, it is always also a certain socio-ethical teaching and practice, and sometimes an ideology. And that means in turn that it always has some concrete and serious content that appears in history as Orthodoxy, or as Catholicism, Islam, etc. Even when such a religion is discussed, for example Catholicism, it means little as some sort of general concept, because it is not something unambiguous: that is eloquently indicated by current Catholic practice in the world, which is undoubtedly the consequence of different interpretations of what is called the common fund of the religion, from Latin and Central America (and even there Catholicism has split into a revolutionary Catholicism and an institutional-established one), through the North American Catholic "experiment" that can be observed in a certain pacifism and a fairly widespread rejection of the "Vatican morality," to ours here, for example.

Naturally, not even the latter, when examined more closely, either historically or today, has been unified and monolithic, and it can be said that church practice in Istria is not moved entirely and always by the same motives as are in effect, for example, in the "Croatian-Slavic church province" (the Zagreb archbishopric). Even our two most politicized church centers--Zagreb and Split--differ interpretively on many things, which is by no means irrelevant to the formation of the ethical-social practice of the Christians, which is undoubtedly much more significant than the mere fact of the belief in God. And this is understandable if it is known that Croatian historical development was not uniform.

#### An Erroneous Comparison

Thus, what one should always start from is the historical concretization of some faith or religion, and this means the true content and practice of some

religious teaching, which naturally can never be reduced to just transcendence. This is also at the same time the only way for us to free ourselves from a certain historical apriorism in our attitude toward religion, which is also not without certain political consequences. Specifically, one should not demonstrate that some concrete religious teaching and practice can also be an indication of an obsolete religious awareness and in many respects is a hotbed of error and illusion, but this does not necessarily have to be the case everywhere. This, for example, is demonstrated by the religious awareness of the so-called people's churches in Latin America that arose from a revolutionary and class-centered reading of the Gospels, and is unquestionably on the side of what is most progressive and most humane in that cauldron of sociopolitical ferment there.

Therefore, one could not agree without reservations that "Marxism is in fact irreconcilable with religion, to the same extent that it is a serious science that is irreconcilable with the understanding of those who do not believe that the earth revolves around the sun." This comparison is mistaken, most of all because it suggests that serious science and religion are realities of the same order, which is naturally not correct. Specifically, the subject of science, as is well known, is nature, while the subject of religion (in theory) is non-nature (transcendence, the supernatural), and so if each remains in its own sphere, they cannot enter any competitive relationship. Naturally, if religion also wants to utter scientific truths (and historically, this has of course happened), then it can fall to the level of an error. But religious "truths," if they apply to their real subject, cannot be proven or disproven scientifically (because they are beyond nature), and so consequently one believes or disbelieves in them.

To continue: such a comparison can also suggest the thought that Marxism is also some kind of religion (only founded on science) and therefore rules out a different religion (a religion which, in contrast, is an error), which of course cannot be accepted, but also because Marxism is above all a revolutionary practice (which can actually be sanctified, as shown by the historical experience of Stalinism) but one that does not necessarily have to be the antithesis of religion. Naturally, this assumes that neither religion nor Marxism are historically committed as ideological systems that have a claim to human totality.

Accordingly, if Marxism is not reduced in principle to theoretical atheism (and only this has the denial of God's existence as its program), and thus if it is not reduced to a religion without a God, and its atheism is instead basically humanism (and thus an affirmation of man, which always means a concrete historical practice on the road, so to speak, of defying man), then all questions about God are reduced precisely to a question about man. And then the relationship of Marxism and religion is resolved: they are disparate or complementary to the extent that their real programs and the systems of values associated with the promotion of humanism are disparate or complementary.

Naturally, this is not Marxism or religion in theory, but rather, if we are speaking of our conditions, a concrete church practice and a concrete

revolutionary activity inspired by Marxism. And this undoubtedly brings us back to certain historical experiences from which one should understand certain relationships and also certain theoretical decisions. Thus the extract from the LCY Program that has been cited so frequently recently, under the title of "The Ideological Struggle of Communists against Religious and Other Errors and Prejudices" (it could perhaps be shown that the emphasis is on "errors and prejudices" and not on religion in all aspects and circumstances) should be understood primarily in a live historical context, which in many respects was particular and specific, in which part of the church hierarchy played a role that objectively meant a betrayal of the national interests. From this point of view the nonacceptance or even open opposition to the fundamental values of this society, if this is still motivated by religious reasons, as ecclesiastical circles often want to interpret it, can at least be described from the viewpoint of real interests as an error and a prejudice, if some political decisions are worth knowing and reading politically.

#### In the Historical Context

Therefore, if one wants to be realistic and if one wants to see matters in their overall sociohistorical context (of which theoretical discussions are only a segment), then the historical issue on these pages of ours at this time is not the issue of whether it is possible or not possible for believers to join the LC, but rather the issue of the real role and function of the Socialist Alliance as a front, and if I may say so, of the "status" of the LC in our society. Specifically, if the Socialist Alliance has less sectarianism in its attitude toward believers, and the LC has less of a link with the state structures, and acts more as the real ideological guiding force of society, then the question of believers and their membership in the party will become a less relevant issue and a less "crucial" one for some people.

In fact, in conditions in which even some of our committees for the social issues of religion in the Socialist Alliance do not have a single member who is a believer (which does not always have to be completely significant, since there have been times when there were both believers and priests on those committees, and the situation within the whole or our sociopolitical front was not good at all), and when there is not a sufficiently mature awareness everywhere that the Socialist Alliance should not but ideologically but rather politically unified, it is understandable that issues like these should be raised as essential ones.

Accordingly, if it is necessary to fight for something at this time in history, then it should be the real achievement of the idea of the Socialist Alliance as the broadest front of patriotic and socialist forces which on one hand represents an ideological and world-view pluralism, and on the other, an active political unity with respect to the fundamental values of this society (socialist self-management, fraternity and unity, non-alignment, etc.). Along with consistent application of the constitutional role of the LC as the guiding ideological force of society, freed of amalgamation with the state, this, I believe, is the only realistic way to resolve the above-mentioned issues.

This is at the same time the only way for us to carry out fully the principle according to which the measure of social value is not formal ideological affiliation, but rather the actual attitude toward the fundamental values of our society and naturally the actual contribution to promoting them. This is then the "means" of resolving also all dilemmas (and frequently also contrived ones) sometimes discussed by the statutory commissions as well.

Perhaps in conclusion it would not hurt to mention that sentence by Bishop Grmic on connection with concurring with socialist values, in which he says "I think that in the view of history we, the believers, are to make a move." Naturally, this should be understood in terms of the church and its practice in our territory.

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YUGOSLAVIA

BRIEFS

IMPRISONED FOR HOSTILE MATERIAL--Bajram (Halit) Zogaj (22) from a village near Istok, presently a first-year student at the philosophy faculty in Pristina, was sentenced to 60 days in prison for possessing hostile material, i.e., issues No 4 and 5 of the paper ZERI I KOSOVEC, which is published by extremist groups in the West. [Excerpt] [Pristina JEDINSTVO in Serbo-Croatian 21 Feb 84 p 8]

ENEMY PROPAGANDA--A court council in Decane sentenced Rasim Zec Stojkaj (37), [formerly] employed in Switzerland, to 8 months in prison for the criminal act of enemy propaganda. The court trial established that in August and September of last year material of hostile content (such as the pamphlet "The Titoists" and a cigarette lighter on which "Kosovo Republic" was written) were found in his residence. In his apartment in Switzerland the paper ZERI I KOSOVEC, an organ supporting the formation of an Albanian republic in Yugoslavia, was found. [Excerpt] [Pristina JEDINSTVO in Serbo-Croatian 29 Feb 84 p 9]

TERRITORIAL RESTRUCTURING IN KOSOVO--At a meeting on 24 February 1984 the Kosovo Assembly adopted draft amendments on changing the Kosovo constitution to enable the associating of opstinas within the [Pristina] city community and establishing the city's status as a special sociopolitical community. This would also make it possible to transfer certain matters from the province jurisdiction to that of the city community. In explaining the need for these changes, Azem Azemi, member of the Kosovo Province presidency, said that the Pristina Opstina Assembly had initiated the proposed amendment, noting that the opstina has grown from an undeveloped area of 14,600 people at the end of the war to an important economic, industrial, and cultural center with over 220,000 inhabitants. The creation of a city community [gradska zajednica] in Pristina, in which eight opstinas will be associated, will improve conditions for a better organized communal system and greater attainment of the rights and duties of working people and citizens. Five opstina centers would occupy territory outside the city and three would make up city territory. All would be associated within the city community. It was also suggested at the meeting that certain large opstinas within the province should be broken up into new smaller opstinas to facilitate the achieving of citizens' constitutional functions, rights, and obligations and their more active participation in decisionmaking. [Excerpt] [Pristina JEDINSTVO in Serbo-Croatian 25 Feb 84 p 1]